

Extremist Shiites

The Ghulat Sects



Matti Moosa


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To
Hans, Mark, Petra, and Jessica
With Love

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The Shabak

THE SHABAK LIVE in several villages in northern Iraq, east of the city of Mosul. Religiously and ethnically different from the rest of the inhabitants of Iraq, they speak a strange language, difficult for others to understand—basically Turkish mixed with Persian, Kurdish, and Arabic. Like other villagers in northern Iraq, most of these Shabak are farmers, herdsman, and small businessmen trading with Mosul. They live in humble mud huts without sanitary systems or other amenities. The only visible evidence of modern life are the television antennae jutting from many of the rooftops.

Until recent years, information about the beliefs and culture of the Shabak was fragmentary and faulty, as the account of Rev. Anastase Marie al-Karmali (d. 1947) illustrates. According to al-Karmali, the Shabak are of Kurdish origin, believe in the unity of God and love the Caliph or Imam Ali so much that they call him "Ali Rush."¹ This is an obvious error. The epithet Ali Rush (black Ali) is a name the Shabak use not for the Imam Ali, but for his grandson and namesake, the Imam Ali Zayn al-Abidin (the ornament of worshippers,) (d. 94/713, these dates corresponding to the Islamic and Christian calendars respectively), because of his piety, humility, and asceticism, and because of his penchant for wearing black.

Al-Karmali adds that the Shabak do not pray or fast like other orthodox Muslims, but that they do hold festivals with and visit the shrines of the Yezidis, commonly known as Devil Worshipers. As for their social customs, al-Karmali mentions a yearly meeting on the night known as Laylat al-Kafsha. This meeting usually takes place at the entrance to a cave, where the people indulge in eating, drinking, and

committing most "objectionable immoralities," by which al-Karmali means sexual orgies.² Later we shall see that Iraqi writers who know the Shabak intimately reject this account, charging that the "Laylat al-Kafsha" episode is an insidious calumny concocted by the enemies of the Shabak because of the strict secrecy surrounding Shabak religious beliefs and rituals.³

It should be pointed out that al-Karmali did not obtain his information about the Shabak through personal experience with them. He admitted that he had never visited the area where the Shabak live, and that all the information he recorded was supplied by an unnamed person who had had business relations with the Shabak for more than twenty years. Much of the information provided by this informant was erroneous. Al-Karmali hoped that someday someone with broader, more intimate knowledge of the Shabak would expand and correct his account.

A similar account of the Shabak was provided by the Orientalist, Vladimir Minorsky. In his article on the Shabak in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1934), Minorsky leans heavily on al-Karmali's account, repeating most of the latter's statements about the Shabak.⁴

Another discussion of the Shabak occurs in an article published in the Egyptian periodical *al-Muqtataf* in 1921. Using the pseudonym Amkah, the author considers the Shabak to be of Kurdish origin and provides information about them little different from that provided by al-Karmali, with one exception: the anonymous author absolves the Shabak of the so-called immoralities that they were accused of committing on Laylat al-Kafsha, as related by al-Karmali.⁵ This fact convinced one member of the Iraqi Academy that the author of the article was none other than al-Karmali himself. The academy member maintains that, after realizing the falsehood of the anecdote of Laylat al-Kafsha al-Karmali changed his original belief and contributed the article to *al-Muqtataf*, under the pseudonym Amkah.⁶ Al-Karmali's alleged use of a pseudonym may have been a ploy to escape embarrassment.

Still another early account of the Shabak was based on the account of an anonymous informant. The account, in a letter to the physician and scholar, Dawud al-Chalabi, was in turn relayed in a letter by al-Chalabi to Ahmad Hamid al-Sarraf (d. 1985). In this letter, reproduced by al-Sarraf in his book, *al-Shabak*, al-Chalabi states that he has found a person from the city of Mosul with a broad knowledge of the conditions, beliefs, and religious practices of the Shabak.⁷ Al-Chalabi maintains that the informant was trusted by the Shabak because, like them, he was an *Alawi Sayyid*, that is, a Shi'ite who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, the Prophet's blood cousin.

The Sayyid told al-Chalabi that the Shabak claim to have originally come from southern Iran, where they still have relatives, but they do not know why and how they came to live in the neighborhood of Mosul, Iraq.

According to al-Chalabi's source, the Shabak language is a mixture of Persian and Kurdish, with a smattering of Arabic. Al-Chalabi, however, believes that the Shabak language is basically Persian, spoken in a dialect similar to the Baluchi language.⁸ He goes on to discuss aspects of Shabak religious beliefs and practices, citing the names of their villages and providing etymological origins for them.

Another writer whose information about the Shabak is drawn from a letter by al-Chalabi is Abbas al-Azzawi. The information al-Chalabi provided to al-Azzawi is so similar to that which he provided to al-Sarraf that one is inclined to believe that the two letters were identical.⁹

While the authors mentioned above derived their information from anonymous informants, Abd al-Munim al-Ghulami provides first-hand information about the Shabak. Al-Ghulami considers the Shabak to be of Persian origin because of their physical features, because of what other people related about them, and because of their language, which is preponderantly Persian, mixed with Arabic, Turkoman, and Kurdish. He speculates that they could have moved to northern Iraq at the time of the Safawis (beginning in 1500 or even earlier), either through incursions or through immigration in quest of pastureland. Although brief, al-Ghulami's monograph provides invaluable information not recounted by earlier writers about the faith, religious practices, and social customs of the Shabak and cognate sects.¹⁰

The idea that the Shabak came to Iraq from Persia is not new. A. Layard, who excavated in Iraq in the middle of the nineteenth century, suspected that the Shabak were descendants of Kurds who came from the Persian mountain slopes and still profess Shiite doctrines. Layard also believed that they might have an affinity with the Ali Ilahis, who believe in successive incarnations of the deity, one of whom is Ali.¹¹ Likewise, Abdullah, attendant of Miss Gertrude L. Bell, told her that the Shabak had come to Iraq with the armies of the Ajam (Persians).¹²

By far the most comprehensive study of the Shabak is the book *al-Shabak*, (in Arabic), by Ahmad Hamid al-Sarraf, mentioned earlier. More than any other writer, al-Sarraf was in a position to study the Shabak and their religious beliefs thoroughly. In 1937 he held the position of general prosecutor in the courts of Mosul. Because of this position and the concomitant need to investigate crimes, he was able to visit villages both east and west of Mosul.

Among these were the villages of the Shabak and related sects such

as the Sarliyya. Al-Sarraf provides vivid descriptions of some of the villagers:

I saw tall men of fair complexion graced with a bronzy touch. They do not shave their beards and mustaches but allow them to grow so long that they cover their mouths. They speak a strange language which is a mixture of Persian, Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, the latter predominating. They are mostly farmers and shepherds. Whenever I asked one of the Shabak or the Sarliyya about his religious beliefs, I saw nothing but anxiety and muttering of lips followed by dead silence.¹³

Al-Sarraf received his information about the Shabak, their religious beliefs, and sacred books from Shaykh Ibrahim, a respected and well-informed member of the Shabak community, known among his people as "the Pasha." In 1938 the Pasha came to see al-Sarraf to lodge a complaint against the marauding Bedouin Arabs who frequently raided and pillaged his village of al-Qadiyya, lying to the east of Mosul.

This was the beginning of a long friendship between the two men. Whenever they met, al-Sarraf recited to the Pasha Arabic and Persian poems in praise of the Imam Ali and his descendants, the Imams, held by Shiites in the utmost esteem and adoration. In turn, the Pasha recited poems composed by Shabak religious men in the Turkoman language in praise of the Imam Ali and the members of the household or family of the Prophet Muhammad. But when al-Sarraf asked his Shabak friend to write down these poems, the Pasha refused. This refusal led al-Sarraf to conclude that the Shabak were very secretive about their religious beliefs, and that they, like the rest of the Shiites, practiced the *taqiyya* (dissimulation), that is, an outward confession contrary to the belief really held. The Shiites use the *taqiyya* to avoid openly confessing their beliefs, particularly to orthodox Muslims to escape antagonism or persecution. However, by using a great deal of persistence and pressure, including threats to suspend his relations with the Pasha, al-Sarraf claims that he finally convinced the Pasha to open his heart and tell all he knew about the Shabak and their religious beliefs and rituals. The Pasha even gave al-Sarraf a copy of a book entitled *Kitab al-Manaqib* (The book of exemplary acts), or, as the Pasha called it, the *Buyruk* (The book of commandments), held sacred by the Shabak.¹⁴

Written in the Turkoman language, the book consists primarily of a dialogue between Shaykh Safi al-Din of Ardabil (d. 1334) and his son, Shaykh Sadr al-Din (d. 1391), leaders of the Safawi Sufi (mystical) order

of dervishes. They were also ancestors of Shah Ismail (d. 1524), founder of the Safawi dynasty in Iran.¹⁵

The historical importance of the *Buyruk* is that it serves as testimony to the fact that the Shabak and other cognate sects of northern Iraq were associated with the Safawis of Iran. We shall see in following chapters that, like the Safawis, the Shabak are Shiites who believe in the religious authority and infallibility of the twelve Imams, beginning with the Imam Ali (d. 661) and ending with the twelfth and last Imam, Muhammad, known as the Mahdi (Guided One). Shiites believe the Mahdi miraculously disappeared in A.D. 874, in the city of Samarra, Iraq, when he was still in his teens, and that he will reappear at the end of time to restore order and justice to a world filled with iniquity. Here we find the genesis of the Messianic concept in Shiite Islam.

Belief in the authority and infallibility of the twelve Imams is a cardinal dogma of that group of Shiites called the Ithnaasharis, or Twelvers, who constitute the majority of Shiites in the Middle East and in India.

Al-Sarraf expends great effort to identify the Shabak, but is undecided about their origin.¹⁶ He cites *al-Suluk fi Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk* (Book of entrance to the knowledge of the dynasties of kings), by al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), which enumerates the different Kurdish tribes, speculating that one such tribe, called the Shanbakiyya, could be the Shabak.

Al-Sarraf also mentions a work by Ibn Fadl Allah-al-Umari (d. 1384), entitled *Masalik al-Absar fi Mamalik al-Amsar* (directing the eyesight in knowing the lands and countries), who mentions a group of people called *Shok*, from the district of Shwankara or Shbankara in Iran, whose name al-Sarraf speculates may have an affinity with the term *Shabak*.¹⁷ Al-Sharraf then offers several possible explanations for the origin of the Shabak, the most important of which is that the Shabak are Turkomans who came to Iraq in the time of the Safaris.¹⁸ Al-Sarraf states that this explanation lacks historical evidence.¹⁹ But he does assert that the Shabak have the same religious beliefs as the Bektashis and Kizilbash.

The creed of the Shabak is that of the Bektashi-Kizilbash with slight variation and the book, the *Buyruk*, is written in the Turkoman language, very similar to the contemporary language of the Shabak. This is a phenomenon which cannot be denied or refuted. The similarities between the language of the Shabak and that of the *Buyruk* emboldens us to advance such a claim despite the tenuous proof to support it. The truth is that the origin of the Shabak is still unknown.²⁰

It appears that al-Sarraf held in his hand the key to the origin of the Shabak, but failed to open the door. He makes two significant propositions: First, that the Shabak were Turkomans, and second, that they held the same beliefs as the Bektashis and Kizilbash, beliefs which, combined with Islamic Sufism (mysticism), characterize the creed of the majority of Shiites.

Most significant is al-Sarraf's statement that the Shabak's book, the *Buyruk*, is written in the Turkoman language, which is very similar to the contemporary language of the Shabak. This constitutes strong evidence that the Shabak are Turkomans who speak a Turkoman language, even though it has become interspersed with Persian, Kurdish, and Arabic words. We have already seen that the Shabak leader, Shaykh Ibrahim the Pasha, communicated with al-Sarraf in Turkish and recited to him poems composed in the Turkoman language by Shabak religious men in praise of the family of the Prophet.

The modern Iraqi writer Kamil Mustafa al-Shaibi maintains that the Shabak are Turkoman tribes, perhaps originating as Bektashis, who became followers of the Safawi Sufi order under Haydar Ibn Junayd (d. 1488), father of Ismail, the first Safawi shah of Persia. Haydar instructed the members of his order to adopt the doctrine of the Twelver Shiites, who believed in the spiritual authority and infallibility of the twelve Imams. He also ordered his followers to wear a high conical turban wrapped with a red cloth divided into twelve folds, symbolizing twelve Imams. Hence, his followers were known as Kizilbash ("red heads" in Turkish).²¹

Thus, al-Shaibi maintains the Shabak became Kizilbash followers of the Safawis of Persia. Al-Shaibi goes on to say that when Shaykh Haydar's son, Shah Ismail, fought the battle of Chaldiran (1514) with the Ottoman Sultan Selim I ("the Grim"), the Turkoman followers of the Safawis in Turkey marched through northern Iraq to join the forces of Shah Ismail at Chaldiran. They arrived too late, however; Shah Ismail had already been defeated. These Turkomans could not return home to Turkey for fear of retaliation by Sultan Selim I. They were forced to stay in northern Iraq, maintaining their religious beliefs and way of life in a new place, and in time becoming known as Shabak.²²

In light of this account, Frederick W. Hasluck correctly observes that the term "Kizilbash has been associated from the beginning with both Persian nationality and Persian Shia religion, but has no ethnological significance whatsoever."²³ What Hasluck means in this context is that the term Kizilbash originated with Shaykh Haydar, whose Safawi order symbolized both the Shiite faith that Haydar brought into

full force and the national aspirations of Persia. When the teaching of Haydar's Safawi order spread westward into Asia Minor, many Bektashis and other Turkomans became followers and were known as Kizilbash.

Futhermore, many Kurdish tribes in Western Persia and in Anatolia in eastern Turkey, especially those in the region of Dersim (Tunceli) in the upper Euphrates valley, became followers of the Safawi order and were also known as Kizilbash. The difference between the Bektashis and the Kizilbash (both Turkomans) of Asia Minor and the followers of the same Safawi order in Persia was one of leadership, since their beliefs, rituals, and traditions were the same.²⁴ In Persia (Iran) Safawi Shaykhs were leaders of the order of which the Kizilbash were members. In Asia Minor (Turkey), those who joined the same order were known as Kizilbash. Some of them were entrusted to the supervision of Haji Bayram (d. 1429) and became members of the Bayrami order.²⁵

It should be pointed out that the southern part of Turkey, including the provinces of Aleppo and Mosul, where many Turkomans lived, was the homeland of many Sufi orders, including the Babaiyya and the Bektashis. It is not improbable that the Shabak, themselves Turkomans, lived in the same area and were originally members of the Bektashi order. The Shabak must have become Kizilbash in Haydar's time because of their allegiance to the Safawi order and later to the Safawi state founded by Shah Ismail (d. 1524) in 1501.²⁶ Shah Ismail attempted to extend the Safawi hegemony to the eastern part of Turkey (Anatolia) and to subjugate that area to Shiite Islam. The Ottoman Sultan Selim I (reigned 1512–20), persecuted the Safawi followers in Turkey and even had forty thousand of them murdered. Consequently, many followers of the Safawis left Turkey, hoping to join the Safawi army in Iran, but were forced to remain in Iraq when Shah Ismail lost the battle of Chaldiran, near Tabriz, to the Ottoman sultan on 23 August 1514. Finding that they could neither return to Anatolia nor join the forces of Shah Ismail at Chaldiran, they remained in the area east of Mosul and became farmers and herds-men, but were not assimilated into the society of the area.²⁷

These, then, are the theories regarding the ethnic and religious origins of the Shabak. If we ponder the ideas of al-Sarraf on the subject, we discover that his explanation may not be far from the truth. His statement that the Shabak were Turks who came to Iraq in the time of the Safawis is apparently correct; the Shabak were Turks, meaning Turkomans, who adhered to the Safawi order in its Shiite form, paying allegiance to the Safawi religious leaders, and later to Shah Ismail when he founded the Safawi state in 1501. Al-Sarraf also appears to be correct when he states that the religious creed of the Shabak is that of the

Bektashi-Kizilbash sect. However, he fails to explain the reasons for the Shabak's move to northern Iraq in the time of the Safawis.²⁸

Although he does not mention the Shabak by name, Laurence Lockhart indirectly sheds light on the reasons the Turkoman followers of the Safawis, including the Shabak, moved to Iraq. He states that Shah Ismail won to his cause many Shiite Turkomans from Turkey and Syria, notably the Turkoman clans of Takallu, Ustajlu, Dhu al-Qadr, Shamlu, Ramlu, Afshars, Qajar, and Varshaq, who enthroned Ismail as the shah of Azerbaijan at Tabriz in July 1501 and became the backbone of Safawi military power.²⁹ The new shah rewarded the leaders of these clans with land fiefs, and they and their followers who "came from the Ottoman dominion" were given a state in Persia. Lockhart also states that when Shah Ismail lost the battle of the Chaldiran to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, "these Turkomans, being unable to return to their homes in Turkey, adopted Persia as their country."³⁰ Obviously, some of these Turkomans (co-religionists with the Safawis) must have been Shabak who, according to al-Sarraf, came to Iraq in the time of the Safawis and, according to al-Shaibi, remained in northern Iraq because they could not return to their homes in Turkey.³¹ If we recognize that between 1508 and 1510, the greater part of Iraq was occupied by Shah Ismail and became a Persian domain, we realize the importance of Lockhart's statement that these "Turkomans . . . adopted Persia as their country;"³² it becomes a key point in al-Shaibi's attempts to explain why the Turkoman Shabak remained in northern Iraq after Chaldiran.³³

A fact giving additional credence to the argument that the Shabak are Turkomans originating in Anatolia is that Anatolia was the home of the frontier dwellers known as the Byzantine Akritoi, and of the Ghazis (warriors of faith), who had fought for the cause of Islam against the Christians of Asia Minor and Europe since the eleventh century. Among these Turkomans were the Bektashis and the Kizilbash; moreover, the whole area between the mountains of Anatolia and Persia formed a kind of bridge and melting pot for a variety of peoples including the Persians, Turkomans, Kurds, and Armenians.³⁴ From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, this area was a hotbed of Shiite propaganda, and toward the close of the fifteenth century it became the focal point of a dispute between the Shiite Safawi shahs and the Sunnite Ottoman sultans.

A great number of Kurds in the province of Dersim in the upper Euphrates valley were exposed to this Shiite propaganda and were converted to an extreme form of Shiism. Various Turkomans, including the Shabak, must have wandered through this area in northern Iraq and finally settled there. A few generations later, the relations of these Tur-

komans with both Anatolia and Persia weakened, and, like other ethno-religious groups in the area (the Assyrians or Nestorians, for example) they led a marginal cultural and economic existence.

It is evident, then, that the Shabak have a strong relationship with the Bektashis, the Kizilbash, and the Safawis of Persia. To place this relationship in its proper historical and religious perspective, and in order to shed more light on the identity, ethnicity, religious beliefs, rituals, and social customs of the Ghulat or extremist Shiite sects in Turkey, Iraq, and Persia, an account of the Bektashis, the Kizilbash, and the Safawis will be provided in the following chapters.

The Bektashis

THE BEKTASHIS were one of the many dervish Sufi orders or fraternities active in thirteenth-century Turkey. They derive their name from a certain Haji Bektash, whose identity and career are still subjects of controversy. Haji Bektash may have been one of the rival saints of the Turks of Central Asia venerated by the Bektashi and Menteshes tribes.¹ He may also have been the historical figure Muhammad Ibn Musa, who in the twelfth century came from Khurasan in Iran to the land of the Rum (Byzantines), perhaps at the behest of his master, Ahmad Yasawi (d. 1166–67), the great religious leader of the Turkomans.² Or, according to Shams al-Din Ahmad al-Arifi al-Aflaki (d. 1359) in his *Manaqib al-Arifin* (Exemplary acts of the Gnostics), Haji Bektash may have been the disciple of the rebellious Turkoman Sufi leader and founder of the Babaiyya movement, Baba Ishaq of Kfarsud, near Aleppo, Syria.³

Evliya Efendi (d. 1679; known as Çelebi) relates that Haji Bektash was the son of Sayyid Ibrahim Mukarram, a descendant of the Shiite Imam Musa al-Kazim. Bektash's father left Khurasan for Nishapur when Bektash was born. In his youth, Bektash was entrusted to the care of Luqman Perende, one of the disciples of Ahmad Yasawi, who taught him the *dahir* (outward) and *batin* (inward) religious science. This places Haji Bektash in the twelfth century with Ahmad Yasawi. But Evliya Efendi also says that by order of Ahmad Yasawi, Haji Bektash accompanied a host of pious men and saints (including Muhammad Bukhara, Sari Saltuk, Shams al-Din Tabrizi, and Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi) into the land of the Rum (Asia Minor), when the Ottoman dynasty was rising, and that Haji Bektash instituted the *Yeni Çeri* (Janissaries).⁴ This would place Haji Bektash in the thirteenth century. The Janissaries, to be sure, were

instituted by Sultan Orhan (d. 1360), founder of the Ottoman Empire. According to the fifteenth-century Turkish historian, Aşıkpaşazadeh, Haji Bektash had no personal relations with the family of Osman (Uthman or Ottoman), father of Orhan.⁵

Another fifteenth-century Turkish historian, Oruc Bey, states that the Janissaries date back to the period of 1361–64.⁶ However, Aşıkpaşazadeh and Oruc Bey agree that the Janissaries were founded in the time of Sultan Murad Khan (reigned 1359–89), son of Orhan. It is most probable that Haji Bektash had nothing to do with the founding of the Janissaries.

The most plausible explanation of Bektash's identity is that he was one of the many dervishes who escaped Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khwarizm and sought refuge with the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor when Turkestan was invaded by the Mongol army under Genghis Khan in 1219–23. The majority of these dervishes who fled their country were *qalandars* (vagrant dervishes) committed to lives of asceticism, poverty, and wandering.

According to M. Fuad Köprülü, the *qalandari* movement was one of the most notable events in the history of Islam.⁷ These *qalandars* usually wandered in armed bands and were probably similar to the Ayyars of medieval Islam or the Ghazis (zealot Muslim religious warriors).

These Ghazis, through *Jihad* (holy war) against the Christian "infidels," were instrumental in establishing the many Turkish Ghazi states and spreading Islam into Asia Minor after the battle of Malazgirt (or Manzikert) in 1071. This battle, in which the Byzantine army was defeated by the Seljuks, was really the beginning of the end of the Byzantine Empire in the east and the rise of the Seljuk Turks, and later of the Ottomans, to supremacy.

The objectives of the Ghazis in waging war were not always pure. Discontented and unemployed, they resorted to plundering and ravaging peaceful "infidel" Christian territories.⁸ There is evidence that the Ghazis plundered and pillaged central Anatolia long before Malazgirt. What is significant, however, is that the opening of the Anatolian frontier to the Turkish nomadic tribes was the achievement not of the Seljuks, but of the Ghazis. The Seljuk sultans founded their Rum Seljuk state in 1077 only to assert their *de facto* presence and authority over the various Turkish Ghazi principalities. However, they encountered strong opposition to their rule from the Ghazis, especially the *Danishmends* ("learned men" in Persian), whose culture and traditions were very different from those of the Seljuks. Long before Malazgirt, the Byzantine system of defense in

Anatolia had weakened, and the efforts of the Armenians to establish independent petty states had caused great political confusion; this weakness and confusion allowed the Turkish nomadic tribes in Khurasan and Transoxiana to move to Anatolia.⁹

These Turkish tribes must have mingled with the heterogeneous native population of Armenians, Kurds, Syrian Aramaeans, and Arabs. For this reason we find several Christian Armenian religious traditions and beliefs among the practices of the extremist Shiites of Dersim in the upper Euphrates valley. There is some evidence that the Ghazi leaders, the Danishmends, were of Christian Armenian origin.¹⁰ This would explain why the Ghazis felt more at home with the rest of the population of Anatolia than with the Seljuk Turks. These Ghazis remained true to their name—Warriors of Faith—but, unlike the Seljuks, they did not create a unified state in all Anatolia, although some of them succeeded in establishing a state that included Kastamuni, Amasya, Sivas, Kayseri, and Malatya (Melitene).

In 1172, this Danishmend state was conquered by the Seljuk Prince Izz al-Din Kilij Arslan (reigned 1156–88) and absorbed into the Seljuk state of Rum, reducing the Danishmend chiefs to mere puppets. With the death of the last Danishmend ruler, Dhu al-Nun in 1174 the Danishmend state ceased to exist, and six years later (1180) the Danishmends were eliminated.¹¹

The territory of the Ghazis served as a buffer zone between the Seljuks of Rum and the Byzantines. There were no fixed boundaries between the Byzantines and the Seljuks of Rum; instead they were separated by a fairly wide strip of no-man's-land inhabited by Turkish elements. These Turks, according to Paul Wittek, were commonly called Turks of the Uj (that is, the Turks of the frontier) or Turkomans. These Turks of the Uj had maintained the Ghazi traditions of Malatya and Cilicia in southern Turkey; thus when the power of the Danishmend was extinguished in 1180, they were joined by other Ghazis, who sought their protection. Following Paul Wittek, then, we may assume that the term *Turkoman* denotes the Turks of the borderline area lying between the Byzantine territories and the Muslim Turkish principalities of the eastern borders of Anatolia, northern Syria, and Mesopotamia. The Turkomans were nomadic but also herded sheep. They continued to be Ghazis, however, "warriors of faith" who took by force many Byzantine towns in the no-man's-land region.¹²

Many Ghazis were zealous Muslim dervishes determined to spread Islam into the heart of Christian countries, but their faith was not in conformity with orthodox Islam. They were instead Alawis (in Turkish,

Alevis), extremist Shiites, or propagators of other heterodox beliefs combined with Sufism; such dervishes exerted great influence on the Turkoman tribes.¹³ These tribes probably first met Islam in its Shiite form in the ninth century.

Islam began to spread among the Turks in the eighth century, especially after the battle of Talas of July 751. In this battle, fought near the present-day Awliya-Ata (Zambul in the southern Kazakh S.S.R.) the army of Ziyad Ibn Salih crushed the army of Kao Hsein-Chih, imperial commissioner of Kucha, resulting in the establishment and consolidation of Arab hegemony over Transoxiana.¹⁴ In the following century, Islam gained considerable strength when the Samanis, who had established their dominance in Central Asia, embraced Islam. The conversion of the Samanis to Islam determined the fate of Central Asia, which became an Islamic rather than a Chinese territory.¹⁵ When, under Ismail Ibn Ahmad (reigned 892-907), the Samanis conquered Taraz/Talas, many Turks were converted to Islam. Toward the end of Ismail's reign, pagan Turks made continuous incursions into Samani territory, provoking many zealot warriors from the eastern Muslim world to fight against them. These Turks were subdued and finally converted to Islam.¹⁶

In the middle of the tenth century a mass conversion to Islam of the Karakhanid Turks of Kashgaria, Ili, and the Issyl Kul occurred, giving Central Asia a definite Islamic character.¹⁷ Their conversion was due as much to missionary activity as to military conquest. One of these missionaries, Abu al-Hasan al-Kalamati, was particularly active among the Karakhanids. As the Turks converted to Islam, the activity of zealot Muslim warriors recruited from the eastern part of the Islamic world was directed against the Byzantines. Thus, in 966, a great number of fighting men from Khurasan, including many Turks, passed through Iraq (then a Buwayhi territory) to the land of the Byzantines, preceding the rush of Turks into Asia Minor after the battle of Malazgirt (1071) by more than a century.¹⁸

In the early part of the tenth century, Shiism in the Zaydi form began to appear in the regions of Tabaristan and al-Daylam (the mountain region of Gilan). After thirteen years of indefatigable effort, the Zaydi Imam al-Hasan Ibn Ali al-Utrush, nicknamed al-Nasir al-Kabir (d. 304/916), was able in 301/913 to convert the people of Tabaristan to Zaydi Shiism. Al-Masudi (d. 956) states that al-Utrush lived for many years in al-Daylam and al-Jibal (Media) in northwestern Iran, where the people were Jahiliyya (pagan) and Majus (adherents of Mazdaism). Al-Utrush converted many of them to Islam (Zaydi Shiism) (excluding those in inaccessible mountainous regions), and built *masjids* (places of

worship) for the new converts. Al-Masudi further relates that a number of Daylamite kings and chiefs, notably Muhammad Ibn Zayd al-Husayni, who tried to win the people of Tabaristan to his cause against the Abbasids, embraced Islam and supported the descendants of the Imam Ali.¹⁹ This is confirmed by the fact that the Buwayhis, who appeared on the political stage in al-Daylam in the tenth century, became converts to Zaydi Shiism. When the Buwayhis occupied Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasids, in 945, however, they relinquished Zaydi Shiism and adopted Twelver Shiism, based on the spiritual supremacy and infallibility of the twelve Imams.²⁰ The intention of the Buwayhis, as Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni (d. 1048) explains, was to establish a Shiite Alawi state on the premise that the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (the family of the Prophet), rather than the Abbasid caliphs, had the exclusive right to rule the Muslim community.²¹ They did not abolish the Abbasid caliphate, but instead established a Shiite imamate until they were overthrown by the Sunnite Seljuk Turks in 1055.

Al-Masudi makes a revealing statement about political and religious affairs in the regions of al-Daylam and al-Jibal after the conversion of their inhabitants to Zaydi Shiism. He states that at the time of his writing (947), their doctrines were corrupted—that is, they embraced Ismaili Shiism—their opinions changed, and many of them became apostates recanting Islam. Nowhere in his account does al-Masudi mention Ismailism or Shiism, but he does elaborate on the struggle between the Zaydi leader al-Hasan Ibn al-Qasim al-Hasani, who occupied the Rayy province, and Nasr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ismail, the governor of Khurasan, and Asfar Ibn Shirawayh, whom Nasr chose to fight for him against the Zaydi leader.²² Al-Masudi states that Asfar Ibn Shirawayh was not a Muslim, but, according to Abd al-Qahir al-Baghdadi (d. 1037), Asfar was a convert to the *batini* (Ismaili Shiite) sect. Al-Baghdadi states that Abu Hatim (al-Razi, d. 934), who belonged to the batini sect, entered al-Daylam and converted a number of Daylamites, including Asfar Ibn Shirawayh, to Ismailism.²³ This indicates that the Ismaili *da'is* (propagandists) were active in northern Iran and were in conflict with the Zaydi Shiites. Indeed, Ismaili Shiism was so firmly established in Khurasan that Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1200) wrote that "Khurasan has become the nest of the batiniyya [Shite Ismailism]."²⁴ Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah al-Hamadhani (d. 1319), in his *Jami a-Tawarikh*, and al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), in his *Itti'az al al-Hunafa*, provide a detailed account of the activity of the Ismaili *da'is* in Khurasan, Rayy, and Transoxiana.²⁵ From their accounts we learn that Ismaili Shiism, known to Muslim writers as *al-Batiniyya*, had spread since the ninth century throughout the countries from north-

ern India to northern Africa and Egypt and that it found a response among the various ethnic groups of those countries, including the Turk-omans. According to Abd al-Qahir al-Baghdadi, even a group of Kurds from the mountain called al-Badin, in northern Iran, had become Batiniyya, i.e., Ismaili Shiites.²⁶

Ismailism also attracted the Samani ruler, Nasr II Ibn Ahmad (reigned 913–43), who converted to this form of Shiism even though the Samanis were Sunnites of the Hanafite School.²⁷ In the eleventh century (1028), Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi (reigned 999–1030) wrested al-Jibal (Media) and its capital Rayy from the Shiite Buwayhis. To justify his sack of the city of Rayy, Sultan Mahmud wrote to his patron, the caliph in Baghdad, that his main objective in using violence against al-Jibal was to cleanse it from the “infidel Batiniyya and evildoing innovators.”²⁸ Although at this time the Buwayhis were adherents of the Ithnaashari form of Shiism, the use of the term *batiniyya* by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi indicates that there were Ismail Shiites in the district of al-Jibal (Media) and its capital Rayy.

Moreover, a branch of the Ismailis known as the Qaramita or Carmatians, that emerged in the ninth century in lower Iraq and spread into Bahrayn, Yaman, and Khurasan, continued to spread their doctrines until the eleventh century. Their heirs were the neo-Ismailis, known in Western sources as Assassins, who in 1090 established themselves in the security of the fortress of Alamut in the Burz mountains, northwest of Qazvin. From this fortress, the chief propagandist, or *da'i al-du'at*, with his votaries, terrorized the local people and captured other fortresses.

These neo-Ismailis resorted to assassination to achieve their ultimate objective, the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate, which in the eleventh century was under Seljuk domination. Their assassination of the noble and learned Vizir Nizam al-Mulk in 1092 was directed toward this objective. Their end came in 1256, when the Mongol Hulago destroyed the fortress of Alamut. Ironically, two years later, he also destroyed the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.²⁹

Hulago's invasion of Iran, Iraq, and other parts of the Middle East was a continuation of the wave of conquest begun by his grandfather, Genghis Khan. The turmoil caused by the Mongolian invasion drove many dervishes from Khurasan into Asia Minor. One of these dervishes was Jalal al-Din Rumi, who founded the Mawlawi (Mevlevi) order. These dervishes already harbored extreme Shiism shrouded with Sufism. Indeed, since the eleventh century, several prominent Sufis had emerged, among whom were Arslan Baba, Yusuf al-Hamadhani, Abu Muhammad Husayn al-Andaqi (the predecessor of Ahmad Yasawi), and Atabin

Arslan Baba (Yasawi's successor).³⁰ According to some sources, Haji Bektash was a disciple of Ahmad Yasawi.

It should be pointed out that since the opening of Asia Minor to the various Turkish tribes after the battle of Malazgirt in 1071, many Turkoman tribes had rushed to settle in that country. Their settlement of the new conquered Byzantine territory was probably a slow process. The important thing is that some of these frontier tribes brought along with them Islam in its Sufic, as well as extreme Shiite forms. The dervishes, who after the Mongolian invasion fled to Asia Minor, found there a great response among their Turkoman co-religionists.

According to Vladimir Minorsky, an important colony of Ismailis was discovered by Count A. A. Bobrinskoi in the gorges of Oriental Bukhara around the turn of this century. Minorsky further notes that the Ismailis of Central Asia have influenced the extremist Shiite sect of Ahl-i Haqq of western Iran with respect to some of their doctrines,³¹ corroborating a statement by Henri Lammens (d. 1937) that the Ghulat (extremist Shiites), including the Ali Ilahis (Ahl-i Haqq) sprang from Ismaili Shiism.³²

By the 1270s, Shiism had infiltrated from the interior into Mazandaran, where it was adopted by the majority of the people. Only a hundred years earlier, one could hardly find more than several hundred Shiites in that region.³³ The spread of Shiism may be attributed to the fact that, although Sunnites, the Seljuks of Rum (Asia Minor) were greatly influenced by and tolerant of the Shiite faith of the Turkomans. This influence was manifested in their veneration of the Imam Ali and his descendants, the Imams, and in their building of many *tekkes* (lodges) for devout Shiite shaykhs.³⁴ Franz Babinger goes so far as to say that Seljuk rulers were heretical, professing the beliefs of the Alawis the followers of Ali, beliefs that in fact meant they were Shiites.³⁵

Not until the thirteenth century, however, did an extreme form of Shiism begin to have a great impact on the Turkoman tribes.³⁶ Heterodox religious movements like the Babaiyya also had an immediate effect on the Turkoman tribes, culminating in a revolution against the Seljuks in 1241. The Babaiyya movement takes its name from a leader known as Baba, about whom historical sources are inconsistent. While the Syrian writer Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) makes this Baba the leader of the movement, and "Old Man Ishaq" his disciple,³⁷ al-Qaramani (d. 1610) makes Baba Elias the leader of the movement.³⁸ Still another writer, Nasir al-Din al-Husayn Yahya Ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn Bibi (d. 1272), states that Baba Ishaq was the leader of the Babaiyya movement and that Baba Elias was his collaborator.³⁹ Modern writers maintain that the

leader of the Babaiyya movement was Baba Ishaq, a Turkoman preacher from the Kfarsud region on the Syrian-Euphrates border.⁴⁰

According to Bar Hebraeus, Baba proclaimed himself the only true *Rasul* (apostle) while preaching in the country of Amasya, and stated that Muhammad was a "liar and not the apostle of God."⁴¹ Baba's followers called him *Rasul Allāh* (apostle of God) and Amir al-Muminin (commander of the faithful), and changed the Muslim Profession of Faith to read, (There is no God but God, and the Baba is the vicegerent of God).⁴² They killed anyone who did not confess that the Baba was the divine apostle of God.⁴³ Many Turkomans adhered to the Baba and found in him the leader who would save them from the Seljuk yoke. Gathering their forces, the Turkomans revolted openly against the Seljuk sultan, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhosraw (reigned 1236–45), in 1241.

The insurrection of Baba Ishaq and the Babaiyya movement was finally subdued, and the chief instigators were captured and killed. What is significant about the Babaiyya is its association with extreme Shiism. Shiite teachings were carried by Baba Elias, a disciple of Baba Ishaq, from his native country of Khurasan in northern Persia to the land of the Rum (Asia Minor) when the Mongol army swept through Khurasan at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁴ It should be pointed out that Baba Ishaq began preaching in the region of Kfarsud on the Syrian-Euphrates border, not too far from Aleppo and neighboring areas teaming with Ismailis and other extreme and moderate Shiites. According to Imad al-Din Ibn Kathir (d. 1373), al-Malik al-Afdal, the son of the celebrated Salah al-Din (Saladin) al-Ayyubi and ruler of Baba Ishaq's native town of Shamishat (Samosata or present-day Samsat), was himself a Shiite.⁴⁵ We may assume from all this that the Babaiyya were strongly influenced by extreme Shiism, clothed in Sufi garb.⁴⁶ According to one source Haji Bektash, the eponym and patron of the extreme Shiite sect of Bektashism, was also a disciple of Baba Ishaq.⁴⁷ This is unlikely, but the Babaiyya must have paved the way for extreme Shiite and other Sufi orders in Asia Minor.

The failure of the Babaiyya insurrection did not halt the growth of the influence of the Sufic orders in Asia Minor. The constant warfare, the continual mingling of peoples and ideas, and the uncertainties of life for the common people combined to make possible the growth of the religious movement that ultimately developed into two orders: the Mawlawis (in Turkish, Mevlevi), founded by Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), and the Bektashis. The great majority of the villages in the area belonged to these orders. Furthermore, because they used the Turkish language as their literary medium and because that was the language of

the common people, these two orders of dervishes "were destined to extend their influence throughout the Ottoman period."⁴⁸

It should be pointed out that the practices of most of these dervishes represented the ancient teachings of Islamic Sufism, emphasizing the inner enlightenment of the soul rather than the external rituals and religious duties of Islam as the path to attaining knowledge of the Ultimate Reality, that is, God. As an established movement, Islamic Sufism did not emerge with the rise of Islam, although there are many statements in the Quran which can be considered mystical or Sufic. Furthermore, *zuhd* (piety) was a foremost trait of many Muslim believers in the time of the Prophet of Islam. As Islam spread into foreign lands and a vast Islamic state was established, Sufism emerged as an inchoate and primitive movement. Its members were townspeople of the lower middle class and were usually devoted to the study of religious sciences of the Quran and the Hadith (traditions of the Prophet). Although some were legalists, well versed in religious sciences, who tried to expound and adapt Quranic teachings and traditions to the Muslim community, many were mystics, spiritualists, and outright escapists. As Islam penetrated every aspect of Muslim life and Islamic orthodoxy became strictly legalistic (that is, bound by ritualism and formalism supported by the state), a myriad of sects and non-conformist groups emerged that defied both the state and the state-sponsored orthodoxy. The Sufic (mystical) schools developed in this ambience as a challenge to Islamic dogmatism and ritualism. According to Ignaz Goldziher, most Sufis looked upon Islamic religious obligations as externals of little or no spiritual value in the quest for knowledge of God. With this attitude, says Goldziher, they rejected the rituals and dogmas of orthodox Islam, developing their own eclectic beliefs from Gnosticism, Yoga, Shamanism, and Christianity. One group who did this was the Sufic order of the Bektashis.⁴⁹

We do not know exactly when Haji Bektash began to preach his doctrine to the Turkoman tribes in Asia Minor. The two sources entitled *Vilayatnama* and *Maqalat* (Discourses) attribute to him miracles worthy only of a divine person. Bektash's teacher, Luqman Perende, claims to have seen Haji Bektash at the age of four in the classroom with two apparitions, one of the Prophet Muhammad and the other of the Imam Ali; Ali was teaching him the batin (inward or esoteric) and dahir (outward or literal) sciences of the interpretation of the Quran.⁵⁰ Indeed, there is no evidence that the *Maqalat* placed particular emphasis on the doctrine and rite of the Bektashi order.⁵¹

Frederick W. Hasluck contends that Haji Bektash, as a mere figurehead of Bektashism, had nothing to do with the present Bektashi

doctrines, and that the real founder of Bektashism was Fadl Allah al-Astrabadi (d. 1401), founder of the Hurufi sect. He states that after al-Astrabadi's death, his disciples introduced his doctrine to the Bektashi lodge near Kirşehir and, under the guise of Bektashism, disseminated their Islamic heterodox Hurufi doctrine, based on numbers symbolizing religious truths.⁵² While the Hurufis do have strong connections with the Bektashis and their order, there is no evidence that Fadl Allah al-Astrabadi was the real founder of Bektashism.⁵³

Haji Bektash probably taught simple rituals, including the use of a candle and the celebration of a ceremonial meal and a dance. These rituals are essentially those of the Shabak and cognate sects in northern Iraq. It is also probable that Haji Bektash, because of his ascetic life, was recognized by the Turkoman tribes as a *wali* (saint), and that later in his life he sent missionaries to different areas to spread his teachings.⁵⁴

This missionary work must have been vigorous and continuous, for it is reported that in the fourteenth century, in the province of Tekke in Asia Minor, the Kizilbash, also known there as Takhtajis (woodcutters), were converted to Shiite Islam through the efforts of missionaries from Konya.⁵⁵ It is also reasonable to assume that the simple mystical teachings of Haji Bektash were not tainted by theological polemics or doctrines. They were characterized by tolerance, as seems to be demonstrated by the stories and references to Jesus in the *Maqalat*.⁵⁶ This tolerance may have been a factor in the spread of Bektashism among the Janissaries, recruited by Ottoman sultans from captive Christian boys.⁵⁷ Such, then, were the Bektashi teachings bequeathed by Haji Bektash to his disciples. They were essentially Shiite teachings overshadowed by mysticism.

Only toward the beginning of the sixteenth century did the Bektashi leader Balim Sultan (d. 1516), considered by the Bektashis as their second pir (patron saint), give the Bektashi order its final form. According to legend, Balim Sultan was born miraculously to a Christian Bulgarian princess of the region of Demotika. The legend holds that the princess made a prayer rug and hung it on the wall. She told her mother that she would marry the first man who prayed on this rug, and no other. It happened that two old men, Sayyid Ali Sultan and Mursal Baba, visited the princess' family. Without asking the princess about the rug, they pulled it down from the wall and prayed on it together. The princess, who was still a young virgin, hated both these men because of their age and refused to marry either. In order to get rid of them, she pulled the rug from under them while they prayed, with such force that Sayyid Ali did not believe that the princess could possess such extraordi-

nary strength. He rather believed that her power came from Balim Sultan, who would be borne by her. Mursal Baba asked for a jar of honey, then dipped his finger in it and put it in the mouth of the virgin princess, whereupon she immediately became pregnant. Thus Balim, whose name derives from the Turkish word *bal* (honey), came to be born.⁵⁸

This legend is important as an example of the attempts of the Bektashis to make their Sufi order and teachings more appealing to the Christian population of Asia Minor; they served as intermediaries between Islam and Christianity. By attributing a miraculous birth to Balim Sultan, their second patron saint, they rendered him homologous with Jesus Christ, who also was born of a virgin without a human medium. It should be remembered, however, that the belief of the Bektashis in a trinity consisting of God, Muhammad, and Ali, as well as the concept of the miraculous birth of Balim Sultan, is alien to orthodox Islam.⁵⁹

What is most significant is that under Balim Sultan the Bektashi order was influenced by the teachings of other Sufistic orders: the Hurufis (founded by Fadl Allah al-Astarabadi in the fourteenth century), the Babais, the Akhis, and the Abdals, among others. Nevertheless, the Bektashis continued to preserve the main features of their teachings, especially the *Ishq* (passionate love or yearning for God); belief in a trinity combining God, Muhammad, and Ali; and belief in the sanctity of the family of the Prophet. Most basic of all, the Bektashis maintained their belief that Haji Bektash was indistinguishable from the Prophet Muhammad and from the Imam Ali; essentially, these three were one and the same person.⁶⁰ We shall see later that similar doctrines are maintained by the majority of the Ghulat or extremist Shiite sects.

The Safawis and Kizilbash

THE SAFAWIS derive their name from Shaykh Safi al-Din Ishaq, who died at the ripe old age of eighty-five at Gilan in A.D. 1334. His ancestors were leaders of a Sufi order in the city of Ardabil in northern Persia, and were known for their piety and religious influence. According to the anonymous *History of Shah Isma'il*, the founder of the Safawi family was a certain Firuz, son of Muhammad, son of Sharafshah.¹

Firuz gained prominence because of his participation in a revolt which began at a village named Sanjan, near Merv, the capital city of Khurasan. The purpose of this revolt was to spread Islam in Azerbaijan. It was successful, and Firuz was rewarded by being made the governor of Ardabil and its environs, either by Prince Ibrahim Ibn Adham or by his son, said to have been the representative of the King of Persia. Firuz became wealthy, soon owning so many cattle that he found it necessary to move to Rangin in Gilan in search of more pasture land. Upon his death, his son Awad moved into the village of Isfaranjan near Ardabil, where he died.² There is nothing at this point in the history of Firuz and Awad to indicate that they claimed spiritual or Sufistic life. It may have been an experience of Awad's son, Muhammad Hafiz, that allowed the heads of this family to claim a spiritual distinction (genealogy).

The authors of both *Safwat al-Safa* and *Silsilat al-Nasab Safawiyya* relate that when young Muhammad was only seven years old, he disappeared and was gone so long that he was thought to be dead. After seven years, however, the boy reappeared, wearing a garment the color of the jujube fruit and a cap wrapped with a white turban, carrying a copy of the Quran. When asked where he had been, he said that the *jinn* (celestial beings who acted as intermediaries between God and men), had kid-

napped him and taught him the laws of Islam and the Quran. It is said that he knew the Quran by heart, which earned him the title "Hafiz," that is, "Memorizer of the Quran." Fantastic as this incident may seem, it probably initiated the awareness of the heads of the family of Firuz of their spiritual and saintly role within their community. Such a view is supported by the fact that after the death of Muhammad Hafiz, his son, Salah al-Din Rashid, distributed his wealth among the poor of Isfaranjan, wore the dress of a dervish, and moved to Gilkhwaran, a village near Ardabil, where he made a living by farming. Thus he renounced his wealth and position to lead a simple, ascetic life.³ Rashid, his son Qutb al-Din Abu Baqi Ahmad, and Qutb al-Din's son Salih seem to have lived peacefully at Gilkhwaran until the Georgians attacked their territory (probably between 1203 and 1205) and massacred many people.⁴

The anonymous author of the *History of Shah Isma'il* states that the reason for the Georgians' attack was to take revenge on Salih for his role in converting Christians to Islam.⁵ This is most unlikely, however, since at the time of the Georgians' incursion, Salih was only a year old. Be that as it may, Salih died and was buried in Gilkhwaran, leaving behind his son, Amin al-Din Jabrail.⁶

Like his father, Amin al-Din Jabrail engaged in agriculture and the management of his landed estate. However, because of the incursions of the Georgians and the calamities of war befalling the whole district of Ardabil, Amin al-Din Jabrail moved to Shiraz, where for ten years he became the disciple of a famous spiritual Sufi, Khwaja Kamal al-Din Arabshah of Ardabil, and married Arabshah's daughter, Dawlati.⁷ The anonymous author of the *History of Shah Isma'il* places great importance on this marriage, interpreting it as a union between the Persian element, represented by Dawlati, and the Turkish element, represented by Amin al-Din Jabrail.⁸ Following his sojourn in Shiraz, Amin al-Din Jabrail returned to his native Gilkhwaran, where conditions had improved enough to allow him to pursue farming and the management of his land. It was there, in the year 650/1252, that Dawlati bore him a son, Safi al-Din, from whom the Safawis derive their name, and with whom, Edward G. Browne states, "the family suddenly emerges from comparative obscurity into great fame."⁹

The importance of the marriage of Amin al-Din Jabrail to Dawlati was over-emphasized, as was that of the birth of Safi al-Din. The author of *Silsilat al-Nasab Safawiyya* exaggerated the ascetic life and saintliness of Dawlati, equating her with the famous Sufi lady, Rabia al-Adawiyya of Basra (d. 801). In fact, this same author conferred upon Dawlati the *isma*

(infallibility and sinlessness) in order to make the birth of Safi al-Din a divinely-ordained incident.¹⁰

Amin al-Din Jabrail died in 656/1258, leaving his son Safi al-Din great wealth and prestige. Sufism was fashionable in the area where Safi al-Din lived, and he chose the life of the Sufis. He left for Shiraz in southern Persia, despite the opposition of his mother, to follow the path of the Sufis under Shaykh Najib al-Din Buzghush of Shiraz, but Buzghush was no longer alive by the time he arrived in that city.¹¹ In Shiraz he made the acquaintance of many Sufis and dervishes; finally, he found Shaykh Ibrahim, known as the Zahid (ascetic) of Gilan (d. 700/1301), in the village of Hilya-Kiran, in the Khanbali district of Gilan. Safi al-Din became Ibrahim's disciple and married his daughter, Bibi Fatima. Safi al-Din's decision to follow the way of the Sufis is remarkable, for it was rare for a wealthy man, the scion of a prominent family, to choose an ascetic life.

Young Safi al-Din must have believed that he had a divine calling, and that the choice of a Sufic career was beyond his mortal will. It is reported that in a dream he saw himself sitting on the legendary Mount Qaf, wearing a cap of sable fur on his head and a sword at his side. Then he saw the sun rise and cover the earth. Shaykh Ibrahim interpreted the dream to mean that the sword was the *walaya* or *wilaya* (spiritual sovereign power or leadership), and that the sun was its splendor.¹² Shaykh Safi al-Din may have had no political ambition at the time of this dream, or guessed at his own future prominence. But the dream did presage the rise of the Safawis to political power; in 1501, Safi al-Din's great-grandson, Ismail, was proclaimed shah at Tabriz.

When Shaykh Zahid of Gilan died in A.D. 1301, Safi al-Din, now himself a shaykh, succeeded him in office. He moved to Ardabil, where he had a great number of followers, and, until his death in 1334, he was the head of the Safawi Sufi order, the name of which derives from his name, Safi.¹³ His popularity as a saint of exemplary piety and asceticism spread far and wide, from Azerbaijan to Anatolia, winning him many *murids* (followers), especially among the peasants. It is said that in only three months, no less than thirteen thousand followers from Asia Minor came to visit the saint. In fact, he had a few followers even in India.¹⁴ We also learn from Hamd Allah Mustawfi (d. 1349), a contemporary of Shaykh Safi al-Din, that the latter enjoyed an eminent position in his lifetime, not only among his own people but among Mongol rulers.¹⁵ In many instances he served as an arbiter in quarrels between villages, and he saved many a village population from the tyranny of the sultan.¹⁶ In

recognition of the prominent religious position of Safi al-Din, Rashid al-Din, a chief minister of the Mongol ruler, supplied his *khanqah* (monastery) with provisions, money, and perfumes on the occasion of the festival of the Prophet's birthday.¹⁷ Safi al-Din was also sought by the Jalayri rulers to instruct and guide their sons in the path of the Sufis, that they might learn the humility and obedience for which Shaykh Safi al-Din was called the Padishah Ukhrawi (divine king)¹⁸ by the author of *Safwat al-Safa*.

There is nothing in the available sources to indicate that Shaykh Safi al-Din was a Shiite. The genealogy in *Safwat al-Safa* showing him to be a descendant of the seventh Imam, Musa al-Kazim, is most likely spurious.¹⁹ Likewise, the claim made by the anonymous author of the unpublished copy of *Manaqib-al-Awliya*, or *Buyruk* (Exemplary acts of the saints, or the book of commandments, different from the Shabak copy mentioned earlier), that Shaykh Safi was a sayyid (a scion of the Imam Ali) is historically untenable.²⁰ The Iranian writer Ahmad Kasrawi (d. 1946), who discussed this subject thoroughly, reached the conclusion that the book *Safwat al-Safa* had been tampered with, and that the genealogy of Safi al-Din showing him to be a Shiite descendant of the Imam Musa al-Kazim was a later interpolation.²¹ The modern Iraqi writer Kamil Mustafa al-Shaibi also concludes that Shaykh Safi al-Din was not a Shiite. While he does this independently of Kasrawi, he credits Kasrawi as his forerunner on this subject.²² If the genealogy of Safi al-Din as given by the author of *Safwat al-Safa* is authentic, how is it possible that neither Safi al-Din's wife nor his son, Shaykh Sadr al-Din (d. 1391), knew anything about it?²³ The author of *Safwat-al Safa* himself relates that Sadr al-Din did not know whether he was descended from al-Hasan or al-Husayn (the sons of Ali) an ambiguity putting the relationship of the father to the Imam Musa al-Kazim, a descendant of al-Husayn, in even greater doubt. Perhaps the most convincing evidence that Shaykh Safi al-Din was not a Shiite is his commentary on Quran 5:67. This Quranic passage states, "Apostle! Proclaim the Message which has been sent to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have fulfilled and proclaimed His Message. And God will protect you from men [who mean mischief]." Shaykh Safi did not interpret it, as do all traditional Shiite commentators, to mean that the Prophet had appointed Ali as his legitimate successor, or Imam, at Ghadir Khumm. Furthermore, Safi al-Din failed to mention a single Shiite source or author in his commentary, although he referred to al-Ghazzali, Shurawardi, Najm al-Din al-Razi and other non-Shiite writers.²⁴

It is clear, then that Shaykh Safi al-Din was not a Shiite. On the contrary, he and his followers may have been adherents of the Shafii school, one of the four theological schools of orthodox Islam. He was a spiritual shaykh to whom the author of *Safwat al-Safa* ascribed many *karamat* (miraculous gifts), exalting his piety, asceticism, and spiritual eminence.²⁵ These qualities were praised by Fadl Allah Ibn Ruzbihan Khunji as "unique in the world."²⁶ However, only one rather flimsy piece of evidence indicates that Shaykh Safi al-Din held the Imam Ali in devotion; Edward C. Browne reproduces the following quatrain, allegedly composed by Safi al-Din:

The great God who forgives a multitude of sins shall
forgive you Safi
When you realize that the love of Ali is within you,
even if you commit sin God will forgive you.²⁷

Browne comments that this quatrain was ascribed to Safi al-Din in the same manner as other poems were ascribed to his descendant, Shah Ismail.²⁸

In 1334, Shaykh Safi al-Din died and was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Sadr al-Din. It is said that Sadr al-Din dictated most of the book *Safwat al-Safa* to the dervish Ismail Tawakkuli, known as Ibn Bazzaz (d. 1350).²⁹ There is nothing spectacular in the fifty-nine-year leadership of Sadr al-Din at Ardabil except his conflict with al-Malik al-Ashraf Chubani, the Mongol governor of Ardabil, over the political control of that city.³⁰ Sadr al-Din was banished to Tabriz, but pressure from his followers forced al-Ashraf to allow him to return to Ardabil. However, Sadr al-Din was forced to leave Ardabil again, fleeing to Gilan, when al-Ashraf tried to poison him. When another Mongol, Arghon Bey, occupied Gilan and killed al-Ashraf, Sadr al-Din returned to Ardabil, where he died in 1391.

As with his father, there is no evidence that Shaykh Sadr al-Din was a Shiite. Sadr al-Din was, however, associated with Turkish *Akhis* (brethren) and the Futuwwa, a kind of Sufi order of chivalry whose members extended help to the poor and the distressed.³¹ In the words of the Persian writer Nur Allah al-Tustari (d. 1610), Sadr al-Din was "one of the pillars of the Fityan, the perfection of the Futuwwa, and was exemplary in feeding the poor."³² The association of Sadr al-Din with the Akhis and the Futuwwa fraternities is, perhaps, an indication of the metamorphosis of the contemplative Sufism of the Safawis into an em-

pirical and pragmatic form of Sufism like that of the Akhis and Futuwwa, whose noble purpose was to help the wretched and the poor.

Strong Shiite tendencies among the Safawis are first detected in the time of Khwaja Ala al-Din Ali (d. 1429), the son of Sadr al-Din and his successor as religious leader of the order. Known as Siyah Push (the blackened) because he always wore a black garment as a sign of piety, Khwaja Ali saw the ninth Imam, Muhammad al-Taqi, in a dream. Muhammad al-Taqi inspired him to convert the inhabitants of Dizful, in Arabistan (Khuzistan) in southwestern Persia, to Shiism, by miraculously stopping the Dizful river from flowing, a sign of the true "belief in and recognition of the supreme holiness of Ali Ibn Abi Talib."³³ The people ridiculed Khwaja Ali, but, through divine providence, he caused two huge boulders to come together and block the river from flowing. Seeing this miracle, the cynical people of Dizful accepted the command of the Sharia (Islamic law) and confessed the walaya [sainthood], khilafa [caliphate] and wisaya [testamentary trust] of Ali Ibn Abi Talib.³⁴ In other words, they were converted to Shiism. Edward G. Browne states that "this is perhaps the earliest sign of strong and decisive Shi'a propaganda on the part of the Safawis."³⁵

There is an indication that a Shiite and Sufi movement under Khwaja Ali began to develop into a theocratic, militaristic power, represented by the first appearance of *fidaiyyin* (religious self-sacrifices) among the followers of the order.³⁶ Perhaps, recalling the association of Sadr al-Din with the Akhis and Futuwwa, the Safawi leaders were increasingly aware of their role as both religious and secular leaders.

There is further evidence that Shiism became the persuasion of the Safawis under Khwaja Ali. To distinguish the new Shiite members of his order, Khwaja Ali ordered his men to wear a new cap, divided into twelve pleats, representing the Twelve Imams. In this regard, the Portuguese writer Joao de Barros (d. 1570) writes: "And as a mark and symbol of his sect and his new religion, in memory of the Twelve Sons of Hocen [Husayn], whom we have mentioned, he [Khwaja Ali] adopted a headgear shaped like a mushroom which the Moors [Muslims] often wear on their heads, but with a pointed peak resembling a pyramid and folded into twelve vertical pleats. His son, Iune [Junayd] followed his custom."³⁷

Although De Barros errs both in calling the Twelve Imams the "sons of Husayn" and in calling Iune (Junayd) Khwaja Ali's son (he was in fact his grandson), this passage clearly indicates that the Safawis were Shiites in Khwaja Ali's time and continued to be so.

Samuel Purchas (d. 1626) states that "Barrius" (de Barros) begins

his "pedigree" (genealogy) of the Safawis with Guine (Junayd); Purchas continues: "He [De Barros] addeth, that for the Ensigne, Character, or Cognisance of his Sect, he [Khwaja Ali] ordayned, that in the midst of their Turban (which they weare with many folds) there should arise a sharpe top, in manner of a pyramid, divided into twelve parts (in remembrance of Ali and his twleve sons) from the top to the bottom."³⁸

De Barros, however, does not say whether the turbans of the Safawi followers were wrapped with the red fabric for which they became known as Kizilbash (red heads). It is believed that Khwaja Ali's great-grandson, Shaykh Haydar Ibn Junayd, added the red cloth.

Another indication that the followers of the Safawi order became Shiites in the time of Khwaja Ali is his encounter with the Mongol conqueror Timur Lang (Tamerlane) (d. 1405). There are two accounts of this encounter; they agree on many points but only one mentions that the Safawis had become Shiites. According to a Persian manuscript on the genealogy and history of the Safawis, Timur, after defeating the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I and conquering Asia Minor, returned to Azerbaijan, bringing with him a great number of captives. He stopped at Ardabil, where he met with Khwaja Ali and offered him a cup of poison, perhaps to test his miraculous powers. As dervishes performed an ecstatic dance and the *dhikr* (a constant praise of God), Ali took the cup and drank of it, saying, "Ma'im Sarpush, Ma'im Zahrnush." Then he joined the dancers and perspired so much that the poison was excreted from his body through his sweat glands. He was not harmed by the poison. This incident convinced Timur of Khwaja Ali's miraculous powers and he declared himself one of Khwaja Ali's devoted disciples. In deference to the latter's spiritual power and position, he asked what favor he could extend to him. Khwaja Ali requested that Timur release the Turkish prisoners he had taken after his victory over Bayazid I, at the battle of Angora (Ankara) on 2 July 1402. Timur agreed and released the captives, of whom there appear to have been many. It is reported that Khwaja Ali stationed many of these captives near the mausoleum of his ancestors in Ardabil, and they and their descendants became very loyal followers of the Safawi order, coming to be known as Sufiyan-i-Rumlu.³⁹ Even more important, Khwaja Ali repatriated others of the captives to their homeland, Turkey, sending with them some religious leaders of the Safawi order, with the injunction that the time for the fulfillment of the religious belief of the Shiite Twelvers had come and that they should be ready to sacrifice their very lives to spread this faith. Perhaps this repatriation was also meant to provide Timur with spies against the sultan in the Ottoman homeland.⁴⁰

De Barros also describes Khwaja Ali's encounter with Timur. His version is significant, as it indicates the beginning of Shiism among the Safawis. De Barros states that upon his return to Persia, Timur wanted to see Iuni (Junayd [although actually he means Junayd's grandfather Khwaja Ali]), whom he describes as a holy man. Ali and Timur discussed many matters, including the release of captives. Khwaja Ali requested Timur, in the name of justice, to release the men he had captured in his war with Bayazid I, because Islamic law forbids a Muslim to hold another Muslim captive, even though he may be master of the world or as powerful a prince as Timur, himself. De Barros goes on to say that Iune (actually Khwaja Ali) asked Timur to release the captives to him in order "to convert them to the true path of salvation which he himself professed, and of which he had been the champion for many in the teaching of Ali, their prophet."⁴¹ De Barros concludes that at last Khwaja Ali convinced Timur in this fashion to release to him all the captives who accepted his teachings, and that he settled them on the land, where they later proved very useful to his son, Shayk Aidor or Haydar (actually his grandson Junayd).⁴²

De Barros' account leaves no room for doubt that Khwaja Ali was a Shiite, that his followers were Shiites, and that he was the one who commanded his followers to wear a new cap with twelve pleats representing the Twelve Imams, in order to distinguish themselves from non-Shiite Muslims. There is no evidence, however, that the Shiism of Khwaja Ali was extreme, or that he himself was an extremist Shiite deifying Ali or the Imams. Commenting on the encounter of Khwaja Ali with Timur, Samuel Purchas states that Barrius (de Barros) and others attribute this incident to Guine (Junayd) and say that these slaves became his disciples first, and afterwards, soldiers of Junayd's son Hidar (Haydar), whom he used against the Christian Georgians.⁴³

Although Khwaja Ali was a Shiite and told the repatriated captives that the fulfillment of the Shiite beliefs of the Twelvers had come, some non-Shiite sources mention him not as a Shiite, but as a devout Sufi, who was greatly loved and honored by his followers and who had a very strong relationship with them. Al-Sakhawi (d. 902/1496) calls him Shaykh al-Sufiyya, (chief of the Sufis in Iraq), which indicates the prominent position Khwaja Ali enjoyed in Muslim spiritual circles in his time.⁴⁴ Although the term Sufi could be applied to both Shiites and Sunnites, it seems strange that Khwaja Ali is called a Sufi exclusively, and not a Shiite Sufi. His spiritual eminence and popularity are further demonstrated by the wide following he had in Asia Minor, land of the

Rum (Byzantines), many of whom received their Sufi training under his direction.⁴⁵

Returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1429, Khwaji Ali died in Jerusalem and was buried there. His son and successor, Ibrahim, was young, weak, and inexperienced. Ibrahim's tenure in office at Ardabil, until his death in 1447, was so uneventful that he is scarcely mentioned in sources on the Safawis. Indeed some sources, when discussing the career of Ibrahim's youngest son, the active and daring Junayd, bypass Ibrahim completely, calling Junayd the son of Khwaja-Ali.⁴⁶

Ibrahim was succeeded by Junayd, and it was with Junayd that the militant character of the family first asserted itself.⁴⁷ By the middle of the fifteenth century, the introspective Sufism of the Safawis had been transformed into a predominantly political movement, thanks perhaps to the political ambition of Shaykh Junayd. His followers came from Asia Minor, Persia, and other countries to pay him homage.⁴⁸ One of his contemporaries, the Sunnite writer Fadl Allah Ibn Ruzbihan Khunji, relates that the descendants of Shaykh Safi al-Din forsook poverty and humility for the throne of a secular kingdom.⁴⁹ Obviously, Khunji had Junayd in mind. A sign of his political ambition is the fact that Junayd was the first Safawi to assume the secular title of "sultan," which is incongruous with the religious title "shaykh," a title more appropriate for the spiritual leader of a Sufi order.⁵⁰

Junayd's ambition to combine spiritual and secular power was even more manifest in his intention to create an extremist Shiite sect. This ambition was perhaps influenced by the Shiite movement of Muhammad Ibn Falah (d. 1462), known as al-Mushasha. Ibn Falah, who began his career as a Sufi disciple of Ahmad Ibn Fahd al-Hilli (d. 1438) and led a rather austere, ascetic life, suddenly became a political activist, claiming to be the awaited Mahdi (Muslim Messiah), and pledging to conquer the world and divide the countries and villages among his companions and followers.⁵¹

In a short time, Ibn Falah's political power extended from the Lower Euphrates region in Iraq to Ahwaz, the Arab territory in southwestern Iran. The latter region was later called Arabistan, or country of the Arabs, after the rise of Shah Ismail to power in 1501, and was renamed Khuzistan in this century when Riza Khan, later the first Pahlavi shah of Iran, occupied Ahwaz in 1925, and captured and banished to Tehran its last Arab chief, Shaykh Khazal.⁵²

Like Ibn Falah, Shaykh Junayd exploited the extremist Shiite zeal of his followers to further his political ambitions. In fact, there is strong

evidence that Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Uways al-Ardabili of Aleppo, who was a follower of the Safawis and the father of Junayd's first wife, objected to Junayd's use of his spiritual position to achieve political goals.⁵³

Junayd moved to Aleppo after the governor of Azerbaijan, Ali Mirza Jahanshah Ibn Kara Yusuf (d. 1468) of the Turkoman Kara Koyunlu dynasty, forced him to leave Ardabil, fearing his power. Junayd hesitated to leave, but the unrelenting Jahanshah threatened to destroy Ardabil if he stayed. Under pressure, Junayd went first to Arbil, Iraq, then to Aleppo, Syria, and then to Diyarbakr in Turkey, where he married Khadija Begum, sister of Uzun Hasan (d. 1468), who was the ruler of the Ak Koyunlu Turkoman dynasty and an enemy of Jahanshah.⁵⁴ Junayd's marriage, which was most likely politically motivated, strengthened his position, particularly since Uzun Hasan was the follower and disciple of Junayd's grandfather, Khwaja Ali.⁵⁵

While in Aleppo, Junayd increased his extremist Shiite activities. Just as the Ghulat (extremist) Shiites had deified Ali, Junayd's followers openly deified Junayd. They ascribed to him divine attributes, saying that he was the Living One, God, and that there was no God but him. They even called his son the "Son of God."⁵⁶ In fact, even before Junayd was ousted from Ardabil, rumors were circulating that the appearance at the end of time of the Shiite Alawi state, as foretold by the Mahdi, was at hand, and that it would be commanded by Junayd, who would fight in company with the Mahdi to establish that state. Eschatological expectations of the founding of the Shiite state were further promoted by astrologers and magicians.⁵⁷ The activities of Junayd, and particularly the attribution of divine qualities to him by his followers were too much for the orthodox Muslims of Aleppo to bear, especially the learned ones: Junayd was accused of heresy.

A council convened in 1456-57 to examine his faith, but Junayd declined to appear. His attitude infuriated the populace of Aleppo, and he and his supporters were attacked, with both groups suffering casualties.⁵⁸ Having discovered that his presence in Aleppo had become too risky, Junayd left for Diyarbakr and stayed with Uzun Hasan, whose sister he married. His desire to return to Ardabil, the center of his authority, never diminished, though, and finally, with the help of Uzun Hasan, he left to go there. While passing through the territory of Shirwanshah Khalil Allah Ibn Ibrahim, however, he and his men were attacked, and the ambitious Shaykh Junayd lost his life in March of 1460.⁵⁹

In adopting extreme Shiism, Junayd may have been influenced by the extremist Shiite movement of the Mushasha Muhammad Ibn Falah.

Whatever his motivation, Junayd may have used extreme Shiism as a pretext to achieve his political objectives.⁶⁰ One of these objectives was to carve out a state for himself in northern Iran and, most probably, to extend it to other lands. Devout Safawi disciples had already spread throughout the entire area from Persia to Asia Minor, and were always ready to die for the Safawi cause. Most of all, the political ambition of Shaykh Junayd was whetted by the disintegration of the empire of Timur Lang. This Mongol conqueror had brought all the countries from India to Asia Minor under his control, but, after his death in 1405, his vast empire crumbled, and several ambitious men were able to challenge his successors and carve out petty states and principalities for themselves. These men were of the Uzbek, the Kara Koyunlu, and the Ak Koyunlu Turkoman dynasties.⁶¹

In fact, Persia itself was divided among several suzerains who were later brought into submission by Junayd's grandson, the future Shah Ismail.⁶² It is not improbable that the absence of a central government in Persia, and the ambitions of many potentates (and even of such religious propagandists as Ibn Falah, the Mushasha) to build their political authority and carve out states for themselves, encouraged Junayd's political ambitions.

In a fundamental sense and transcending the boundaries of speculation, Junayd was a potentate, the sultan of a religious community that was a state in everything but name. Shiism served his purpose because it contained a sublime cause for which he would fight. This cause centered on the Imams, the descendants of the Prophet of Islam, and their Providential governance of the Muslim community, especially represented in the Twelfth Imam, the Mahdi. It is not certain whether, like Muhammad Ibn Falah the Mushasha, Junayd claimed to be the Mahdi. What cannot be doubted is that his followers considered him "divine" in his lifetime and believed he would live forever after his death.⁶³ The metamorphosis of the mystical Sufi order into a militant political movement began under Junayd, gained momentum under his son Haydar, and culminated with the establishment of the Safawi state under Haydar's son, Ismail.

The untimely death of their "divine Sultan," Junayd, must have pierced the hearts of his followers, for they rallied around his young son, Shaykh Haydar Ibn Junayd, and made him the focus of their devotion. For several years, Haydar led a peaceful life in Ardabil, awaiting the opportunity to strike against his opponents and push the political movement begun by his father to its logical conclusion. The opportunity presented itself when his uncle, Uzun Hasan, gained control of all Iraq and Azerbaijan and killed Abu Said (1469), the last of the descendants of

Timur. Attracted by the Safawi order, Uzun Hasan asked Haydar to provide him with the insignia of Haydar's order, so that Hasan and his sons might wear it.⁶⁴ Hasan also invited Haydar to his headquarters in Diyarbakr and gave him in marriage his daughter Baki Aqa, whom Munajjim Bashi calls Alam Shah Begum. Baki Aqa's mother was the Christian princess Despina Khatun, daughter of Kalo Ioanness, the last emperor of Trebizond.⁶⁵ Perhaps Uzun Hasan's intention was to assist his nephew in establishing political authority in Ardabil, but in 1468 Hasan died and was succeeded by his son and heir apparent, Khalil. Khalil was killed several months later by his young brother Yaqub, who crowned himself ruler of the Ak Koyunlu dynasty.⁶⁶

It was Haydar's misfortune that Yaqub could not tolerate his religious views. In fact, Yaqub called Haydar the "Leader of the People of Error," perhaps referring to Haydar's ultra-Shiite beliefs and his deification by his followers.⁶⁷ Yaqub's antagonism could not stop Haydar's ambition, however; he remained determined to subjugate the "infidel" Christian Cherkes (Circassians). We are told by an anonymous Venetian merchant that Haydar "bore an intense hatred for the Christians."⁶⁸ He may also have sought to subdue the petty Shirwan state, which had remained beyond the control of Uzun Hasan. While crossing the Shirwan territory, the only path leading to Circassian country, Haydar was attacked by the joint forces of Farrukh Yasar (the ruler of Shirwan and the son of Khalil, the killer of Haydar's father, Junayd) and Yaqub, who found it opportune to ally himself with the ruler of Shirwan in order to eliminate Haydar. Outnumbered by his enemies, Haydar was captured near Tabasaran, southwest of Darband, on the slopes of Elburz Mountains near the Caspian Sea, in 1488. His head was cut off and carried to Tabriz, where it was thrown to the dogs in the city square.⁶⁹

We have already stated that under Haydar and his father, Junayd, the peaceful Sufi order of the Safawis was transformed into a militant religious band of zealous Muslims, or Ghazis (literally, invaders), who, to fulfill the religious duty of *jihad* (holy war), fought for the cause and the expansion of Islam by subjugating the non-Muslim "infidels." Their objective was conquest of their neighbors, the Christians of Georgia. The periodic expeditions against the Circassians which had been conducted under Junayd reached full force and became a major preoccupation of the order and its followers under Haydar,⁷⁰ who lost his life in this cause. Under Haydar, the Safawi Sufi order became a political force whose rallying point was Ithanaashari Shiism, and whose most formidable tool was the devout Ghazi people. Later these Ghazis were to play a decisive role in the establishment of the future Safawi state under Haydar's son,

Shah Ismail. Similarly, the Ghazis laid the groundwork for the creation of the Ottoman state in Anatolia.⁷¹

The Ghazis, whether in Persia or Turkey, were Turkoman tribes from which emerged the various Sufi orders, including the Bektashis and Kizilbash and such different extremist Shiite groups in northern Iraq as the Shabak. There is some question as to when the followers of the Safawis were given the name Kizilbash (red heads). Was it in the time of Shaykh Haydar, or during the reign of his son, Shah Ismail? The tradition that the term Kizilbash originated at the battle of Siffin (37/657), when the Imam Ali ordered his men, "Tie red upon your heads, so that ye slay not your own comrades in the thick of battle," is most likely a recent interpolation intended to legitimize Kizilbashism, which is an extreme form of Shiism, by making the Imam Ali its patron.⁷²

It should be remembered that under Khwaja Ali, the members of the Safawi order wore a new cap with twelve pleats representing the Twelve Imams, but without a red cloth wrapped around the cap. Some sources maintain that the followers of the Safawis came to be known as *Kizilbash* (red heads) under Shaykh Haydar; others say that they were known by this name under Ismail. Attempting to give his Shiite followers divine sanction and distinguish them from the rest of the Islamic sects, Shaykh Haydar ordered his men to wear the cap his great-grandfather, Khwaja Ali, had designed, wrapped with a red cloth. The anonymous author of the *History of Shah Isma'il* states that it was the Imam Ali himself who designed this cap when he appeared to Haydar in a dream, asking him to have his men wear it. This author states:

One night the Prince of the Throne of Guidance and Sanctity, that is to say the Commander of the Faithful Ali, upon whom be the prayers of God, appeared in a vision to Sultan Haidar, and said to him, "O my son, the time is now at hand when my child from among your descendants should rise and sweep Infidelity from off the face of the earth. It now behooves you to fashion a cap for the Sufis and your disciples, and you must make it of scarlet cloth." On awakening, Sultan Haidar remembered the form and, having cut out a cap to that pattern, ordained that all the Sufis should make for themselves caps like it and wear them. They gave it the name of Taj-i-Haidari or Haidar's cap, and as in the Turkish language, Kizil means scarlet, this holy body became known as Kizilbash or "Red Heads."⁷³

E. Denison Ross states that this tradition is pure fabrication and, as Theodor Nöldeke suggested to him, "an attempt to attribute an honor-

able origin to the somewhat disreputable name Kizilbash."⁷⁴ This may not be the case, however; whether or not the term Kizilbash originated in the time of Haydar or even in the time of his son, Shah Ismail, there is no evidence that it was considered dishonorable in Persia. On the contrary, it was a source of pride, a mark of the religious zeal of the followers of the Safawi Sufi order. In fact, the red caps were considered the greatest honor for Shiite nobles.⁷⁵ The Ottoman Turks, enemies of the Safawis, did despise the Kizilbash, though, calling them many derogatory names. This contempt for the Kizilbash exists to this day among the majority of the Turkish people.

The Italian writer Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi (1540–1615) associates the term *Kizilbash* with Shaykh Haydar, the Safawi. In his book, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiana* (History of the wars between the Turks and the Persians), Minadoi states: "Afterwards the Persians were called Cheselbas [Kizilbash], because of a certain red mark which they carried on their heads, by an ordinance that was instituted for them by Arduelle [Ardabil], who was esteemed a very holy man, which name was confirmed afterwards in the succession of Isma'il."⁷⁶

By the term Arduelle, Minadoi means Shaykh Haydar, whom he calls Aidere, which quite likely he copied from Paulo Giovio (d. 1552).⁷⁷ Apparently, Minadoi was correcting Giovio, who claimed that "Arduelle who was also called Aidere, [Haydar of Ardabil] was the founder of the Persian faction," meaning the Safawi order. Minadoi states that it was not Aidere who was "the inventor of this order, but Giunet Siec [Shaykh Junayd]," by whom he means not Junayd, the father of Haydar, but Shaykh Safi al-Din. He writes: "This Persian superstition was first brought in by Siec Giunet, the Safi, afterwards maintained by Siec Sedudin, and after him by Siec Giunet the second, then by Siec Aider (called by Giovio, Arduelle) and at last so increased and enlarged by Ismahel the Saha and Safi."⁷⁸ Obviously, Minadoi knew the genealogy of the Safawis, except that he refers to Shaykh Safi al-Din as Siec Guinet (Shaykh Junayd).

Another source indicates that the term Kizilbash originated in the time of Haydar's son, Shah Ismail. In his article "Shah Isma'il," Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler explains that the term *tark*, which E. Denison Ross translates as "points," in fact means "triangular or wedge-shaped pieces of cloth, a gore." Houtum-Schindler goes on to say that:

The Farhang-i-Anjuman Ara, after explaining these words relating to this cap, adds that Isma'il shah, in order to distinguish the members of the Shia sect, had dervish caps consisting of twelve pieces of

cloth, and on each piece was sewn (stitched or embroidered, as done now) the name of one of the twelve Imams. These caps were considered the greatest honor that could be bestowed on Shia nobles; and as the caps were red, the families wearing them were called Kizilbash, i.e., Red-Heads.⁷⁹

From this quotation we learn that the term Kizilbash originated in the time of Shah Ismail, and that it was the mark of the greatest honor for the members of the Shia families. Be that as it may, the Kizilbash became staunch supporters of Shah Ismail in Turkey, a fact that strained relations between Persia and Turkey and culminated in a war between them and the defeat of Shah Ismail at Chaldiran in 1514.

We need not elaborate here on the rise of Ismail's power as the founder of the Safawi state. Suffice it to say that from the time he was declared a shah in Azerbaijan (1501) until his defeat at Chaldiran, he subdued most of Persia, Iraq, and Transoxiana, and intended to extend his authority to the heart of the Ottoman domain. The devout Kizilbash, the backbone of his army, loved and revered him as a god.⁸⁰

The Safawi Sufi order had by now become a state, and there was no longer a need for the Safawi leaders to live the austere and humble life of their ancestor, Shaykh Safi al-Din. Sufism had outgrown its purpose, and introspective spiritualism was giving way to external ritualism based on outward devotion to the Twelve Imams. It is not surprising to see, as a result of this metamorphosis, the rise of a group of Kizilbash who called themselves the "Princes of Sufism."⁸¹ There is sufficient evidence in the correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II (reigned 1481–1512) to demonstrate that the Kizilbash followers of Shah Ismail had become strong, and a potent source of trouble for the Ottomans. According to an anonymous Venetian merchant, many people—even chiefs of Anatolia—became subjects of Shah Ismail and followed his Safawi order.⁸²

The Bektashis, the Kizilbash, and the Shabak

AS WE HAVE SEEN, the term Kizilbash originated when the Safawi Shaykh Haydar Ibn Junayd ordered his followers to wear a conical red cap (hence Kizilbash, or redheads) with twelve folds symbolizing the twelve Imams. He did this in conjunction with his establishment of the Twelvers, to distinguish his followers from other religious groups. We may reasonably assume, then, that the Kizilbash included both Bektashis and Safawis, that is, followers of the Safawi order in Persia. Frederick W. Hasluck seems correct when he states that the term Kizilbash "is associated from the first both with Persian nationality and Persian Shi'a religion, but has no ethnological significance whatever."¹

Within a few generations the Kizilbash, also called Alawis (*Alevis*, in Turkish), spread all over Turkey, but were mainly concentrated in the northeastern part of the country, especially in the provinces of Sivas, Erzerum, Diyarbakr, and Harput.² A great number of the inhabitants of these provinces became converts to the Safawi order and were called Kizilbash. This is the same term which the Turks of Anatolia applied to the Persians (meaning the Safawis), to whom the Kizilbash of Turkey owed great allegiance.³ In fact, the Armenians who lived in these provinces called the Kizilbash "Garmir Gelukh" (red heads), by which they also meant Persians.⁴ Among these Kizilbash were Kurds, known as the "western Kurdish Kizilbash," who spoke a distinct Kurdish-Turkish dialect called Zaza, and who are thought to have a strong admixture of Armenian blood. Among these Kurds was a group called the Mamakanli, who are believed to be descendants of the Armenian Mamigonians.⁵ If this apparent racial affinity between the western Kurds and the Armenians is real, one can reasonably assume that the Christian

elements among the religious beliefs of the Kizilbash may have resulted from it.⁶ We shall elaborate on this subject later.

Some writers regard the Kizilbash as a group distinct from the Bektashis, although they agree that they are linked by alliance with the Bektashis.⁷ J. G. Taylor, the British consul for Kurdistan who traveled through Armenia, Kurdistan, and upper Mesopotamia (Iraq) in 1866, observed that in the town of Arabkir in eastern Turkey, the Bektashi sect was favorable to the Kizilbash. He states that his host at Arabkir, Sayyid Osman (Uthman) Nuri, a Bektashi dervish, was greatly respected by the Kizilbash.⁸ Other writers maintain that Kizilbash and Bektashis are two different names for the same people. J. W. Crowfoot, who visited the ancient provinces of Lykoonia and Kappadokia in the summer of 1900 to conduct archaeological research, had the opportunity to inquire into the character of the Kizilbash settlements in these provinces. He observed that the orthodox Turks (i.e., the Sunnite Muslim Turks) despised the Kizilbash and referred to them derogatorily by this name because they drank wine and did not perform public prayer according to the tenets of Islam. But the Kizilbash he visited called themselves "Bektashis," and when they gave orders to each other, they called out "Hie! Bektash!"⁹ In other places in Turkey, such as Erzerum, the Kizilbash call themselves Bektashis.¹⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that these differences between the two groups are of no great significance, since in many aspects of their religious beliefs and practices, and most significantly in their religious hierarchy, they are strongly linked. We have already mentioned that the Kizilbash in the province of Tekke, in Lycia, were converted to Bektashism by missionaries dispatched from Konya in the fourteenth century.¹¹ Like the Bektashis, they were Alawis (Alevis, in Turkish), that is, followers of Ali, and were associated with the Bektashi order of dervishes. In speaking of themselves, the Kizilbash of Turkey use the name Alevi.¹² But according to M. F. Grenard they refused to acknowledge themselves as Bektashis or Alawis, and claimed that they were merely faithful followers of the Prophet Muhammad.¹³ They consider themselves Sunnite Muslims, and, in front of Muslim witnesses, openly perform the prayer prescribed by the Quran. Such ambivalent behavior by the Kizilbash is permitted as a form of taqiyya (dissimulation), an approved practice meant to save Shiite adherents from religious persecution by orthodox Muslims.

Rev. Horatio Southgate (later to become a bishop), an American Episcopalian missionary who traveled through the eastern part of Turkey in 1837-38, reports that the inhabitants of the region between Angora and Delikli Taş professed to be Muslims, though the Turks con-

temptuously called them Kizilbash. Southgate believes that the Kizilbash were the descendants of the Persians brought into the region as war captives, but he was unable to elicit any information about their faith or customs from the neighbors, who must have had no social intercourse with them.¹⁴ However, there is evidence that in Cilicia the Takhtajis (woodcutters) were called Kizilbash by the Turks.¹⁵ Furthermore, although both the Kizilbash and the Bektashis belong, by faith, to the Shiite sect of Islam their Shiism contains substantial Christian elements that have caused some writers to consider them not as part of the community of Islam, but as a corrupt Christian sect.¹⁶

Other writers maintain that the rituals of the Kizilbash betray their Christian origin.¹⁷ Many of these writers are Western missionaries, mostly Americans, who worked among the different Muslim sects of Turkey in the nineteenth century. One of them, Dunmore, states that, based on information he received about the Kizilbash Kurds in the vicinity of Arabkir, he is satisfied that these "peculiar people . . . are descendants from Christian stock, made nominal Moslems by the sword." He goes on to say that when they are in the presence of Turks (Sunnite Muslims), they call themselves Muslims, though they have no sympathy for these Sunnites, but rather harbor profound hostility toward them. Dunmore adds that they do not accept the Quran as a book of God or Muhammad as a prophet of God, but do accept the Bible as a holy book and Jesus Christ as the Son of God, usually under the name of Ali.¹⁸

Another missionary, Mr. Ball, writing in 1857 about his visit to the Kizilbash villages near Yozgat, Turkey, states that these Kizilbash, though the disciples of Ali, had a greater respect for Christians than for Muslims. Like Dunmore, he says that they professed to receive the Bible, and that the Quran had little binding force on them. He adds that because their religion was a mixture of Christianity, Islam, and heathenism, they cannot properly be considered Muslims.¹⁹

Ellsworth Huntington (d. 1947), who successfully surveyed the Euphrates River in the region of Dersim in the upper Euphrates valley in 1901, writes that the inhabitants of the Harput Mountain were originally Armenian Christians who became nominal Muhammadans in the face of persecution, intermarrying with the invaders. He states that the religion of the Kizilbash is a mixture of Shiite Islam and Christianity, with traces of paganism, and says that the Kizilbash identify themselves more with Christians than with Muslims, believing in Adam, Moses, David, and Jesus, and considering Jesus the greatest of them all. Huntington further

states that when he tried to talk to a Kurdish Kizilbash *agha* (chief) about Muhammad, the *agha* avoided the subject.²⁰

What made these sectaries different from Orthodox Sunnite Muslims was their extreme love and deification of the Imam Ali and the other eleven Imams. In fact, they have preserved to this day the religious traditions that separate them from the Sunnites. Nur Yalman, who in the 1960s visited the Alawis of eastern Turkey (especially those of the village of Çiplaklar in Elbistan near Muş), writes of the great devotion of these Alawis to Ahl al-Bayt (the family of the Prophet). He states that the expression *Ali'm Allah* (my Ali is God) is common among them,²¹ an indication of their deification of Ali. *Ali'm Allah* also means, "God is all-knowing," but manipulating the assonance of this phrase and removing the *m* from *Ali'm* produces *Ali Allah*, changing the meaning to "Ali is God."

The Alawis were also distinguished by their total disregard of traditional religious obligations such as prayer, fasting during Ramadan, and abstention from drinking wine, and by their celebration of a communal meal crudely resembling the Christian Eucharist. Furthermore, they had no mosques and no muezzins to call the worshippers to prayer. Instead they conducted prayers in places called *ibadathane*, behind closed doors, or in their homes, where both sexes attended worship.²²

Rev. Southgate states that the Kurdish villages between Bitlis and Van—Kizilbash villages—had no mosques, and that their imam conducted prayer in his own house. In spite of this, he says, they professed to be Musulmans (Muslims).²³ So did another extremist Shiite sect, the *Takhtajis*, who likewise had no mosques.²⁴

Nur Yalman makes the same observation about the Alawis of the village of Çiplaklar. He writes that the visitor to this village will immediately notice that there are no mosques, no calls to prayer, and no minarets. The people conduct some of their rituals in private homes.²⁵ They meet once a week to offer a sacrifice, usually a lamb whose bones must not be broken (a rule bringing to mind the Paschal Lamb of Exodus 12:3–11) and whose blood must not be spilled. The *dede*, or religious head, blesses the sacrifice and then distributes portions of it to the worshippers.

According to the modern Turkish writer Mehmet Eröz, the Kizilbash drink *raki*, an alcoholic beverage which they call *dolu*. The Bektashis, however, always drink wine during the ceremony, and after eating and drinking, spend the night dancing, as part of their worship. Eröz exonerates the Kizilbash from such night orgies, stating that they

were attributed to the Kizilbash by their neighbors, Orthodox Sunnites Muslims who considered them heretics.²⁶ What Eröz means here is that the Kizilbash's drinking of alcoholic beverages during their religious ceremony is an ancient custom dating back to the time when the Kizilbash were pagans, and that they did not receive it from Christianity. However, for the reasons previously mentioned, Grenard designates the Kizilbash as the "Protestants of Islam."²⁷ There is some truth in Grenard's statement that these extremist Shiites were as distinct from the main body of Islam as the Protestants are from Roman Catholics.

There is evidence that some Kizilbash of Turkey did convert to Protestantism in the nineteenth century, and called themselves "Protestants." How and by whom they were converted to Protestantism is not clear, but, according to Dunmore, one of the seven Kurdish Kizilbash chiefs in Çemişgezek (the largest town in Dersim) claimed that he and his people were "Protestants" who believed in the gospel and in Jesus Christ as their only Savior, and that they knew nothing of Muhammad. This chief also told Dunmore, "My people and I celebrated the Lord's Supper before we found the gospel, but now we do it according to the gospel as our Savior did."²⁸

The missionary Jewett, writing in December 1857, states that several Kizilbash Kurds from villages near Sivas visited the American missionaries in that city to seek religious instruction. They confessed themselves to be Protestants and said that they had suffered persecution, perhaps by Sunnite Muslims, because of their faith. Jewett does not explain when and how these Kurds had become Protestants, but he states that the missionaries who heard them could hardly believe their confession and were perplexed as to what advice they should give.²⁹ Another missionary, Winchester, speaks of fifty families of Kizilbash Kurds near Sivas, called Protestants, who begged him and other missionaries to teach them the Bible, saying that they wished "to learn the way of salvation."³⁰ Still another missionary, Herrick, probably referring to the same Kizilbash, writes of "a visit to the Protestant Koords [Kurds]." He calls them nominal Muhammadans whose faith in the Quran and Muhammad is mere lip confession.³¹ Some of these Kizilbash must have attended Bible classes and religious services conducted by missionaries; others were neophytes and proposed to be enrolled as Protestants.³²

Another indication that the creed of the Kizilbash has Christian elements is their belief in a trinity. This trinity is composed of God, Muhammad, and Ali, although Grenard maintains that it consists of God, Jesus, and Ali.³³ Its nature is further attested to by Ishaq Efendi, author of *Kashif al-Asrar Wa Dafi al-Ashrar* (The revealer of secrets and the

repeller of evildoers), who probably was the first to discuss the Hurufi sect in modern times. Ishaq Efendi reproduces the statement of a Bektashi Baba (leader) which is typical of the Bektashi concept of the trinity. The Baba says: "Son, whom they call Muhammad, was nothing but Ali, and whom they called Allah was nothing but Ali; there is no other God."³⁴

According to one tradition, the Imam Ali maintained that he and Christ were one. The tradition is related by Jabir al-Jufi, the *rawi* (narrator) of the Fifth Imam, Muhammad al-Baqir. Al-Jufi reports that in a *khuṭba* (sermon) from the pulpit in al-Kufa, the Imam Ali proclaimed, "I am al-Masih (the Christ), who heals the blind and the leper, who created the birds and dispersed the stormclouds. I am he, and he is I . . . Isa Ibn Maryam (Jesus Son of Mary) is part of me, and I am part of him. He is the supreme Word of God. He is the witness testifying to the mysteries, and I am that to which he testifies."³⁵

There is evidence that the Kizilbash believe that Jesus and Ali are one and the same person. As noted earlier, the nineteenth century American missionary Dunmore recorded that the Kizilbash, among whom he worked, accepted Jesus Christ as the Son of God under the name of Ali.³⁶ Another missionary, Parson, visited the village of Sanjan, which was inhabited by both Kizilbash Kurds and Armenians. He reported that some Kizilbash of this village told him that they believed Jesus Christ was the Son of God and the Savior of men, and that He was God under the name of Ali, but that they could not profess this faith openly, for fear of persecution by the Sunnite Muslims.

Parson comments that he could not decide how truthful this statement of faith by the Kizilbash was.³⁷ But another missionary gives additional confirmation. G. E. White, who worked among the Kurds and Turks towards the end of the nineteenth century, chiefly in the town of Marsovan, relates that the Kizilbash, whom he calls the Shia of Turkey, believed that Jesus Christ and Ali are one and the same person, or are principals who appeared in two incarnations.³⁸

The same observation is made by Grenard about the Kizilbash of eastern Turkey. He writes that the Kizilbash maintain that God manifested Himself in a thousand and one forms, for if He had manifested Himself in only one form, everyone would have come to true belief. The greatest of these manifestations of God was in the person of Jesus Christ, who is the Son of God, the Word of God, and the Savior of men, interceding with the Father on behalf of sinful mankind. After Jesus, God manifested Himself in Ali; thus, God, Jesus, and Ali are one in three persons. Grenard concludes that to the Kizilbash, "Ali is the terrestrial

representative of the Father, just as Jesus is that of the Son.”³⁹ When Stephen V. R. Trowbridge asked a well-known Alawi (Kizilbash) teacher whether the Alawis believe in atonement, the teacher answered that they do in “the sense of intercession through Ali and not through Jesus, because Ali is essentially the same as Jesus.”⁴⁰

Captain L. Molyneux-Seel, who in 1911 visited the district of Dersim, inhabited predominantly by Kizilbash Kurds, wrote that all the sayyids (religious leaders descended from al-Hasan and al-Husayn, the grandchildren of the Prophet Muhammad) whom he questioned in that district, asserted that Christ and Ali were one and the same, but had appeared in this world in different forms under different names.⁴¹ In one of his poems, the Bektashi poet Virani praises Ali as the incarnation of God and maintains that the term *al-Ali*, in the Quran 2:255—“For He is al-Ali, that is, the Most High, the Supreme in Glory,”—denotes a member of the trinity.⁴² It should also be noted that a large number of the Kizilbash in Adiyaman, near the city of Urfa in southern Turkey, call Christ the “Lion of God,” the same epithet the Shiites apply to Ali. Nutting, an American missionary, states that one of the hymns chanted by the Kizilbash of Adiyaman contains the line, “We have drunk the Lion’s blood,” which he believes denotes the atonement of Christ through His blood.⁴³ We shall see later that the Shabak share with the Kizilbash most of these beliefs and practices, especially the disregard of the religious duties of Islam; their holy book, the *Buyruk*, probably provides the strongest link between the two groups.

What is the relationship between the Kizilbash and the Bektashis? Hasluck reports that a son of the shaykh of the convent at Rumeli Hisar (at the time a student at the American Roberts College in Istanbul), explained to him that the difference between the Kizilbash and the Bektashis is like that between Catholics and Protestants, with the Kizilbash being “Catholics” while the true Bektashis were the “Protestants.” Hasluck comments that what this student really meant was that the Bektashi practices represented a “reformation,” in which they disregarded what they thought to be external rituals of their faith.⁴⁴

An extraordinary religious practice of the Kizilbash is reported by T. Gilbert, who wrote that the Kizilbash worship a large black dog in which they see the image of the deity. To the best of our knowledge, this is the only reference to dog worship by this sect. Others who mention this type of worship apparently copied Gilbert.⁴⁵

The common origin of the Bektashis and the Kizilbash is further demonstrated by the direct organizational connection between the Kizilbash and the Çelebis of Haji Bektash Tekke.⁴⁶ This connection

probably dates back to the thirteenth century, when a kind of people's religion emerged, containing a mixture of Islamic beliefs and non-Islamic beliefs of predominantly Christian origin. As a spiritual leader, Haji Bektash played a significant role in shaping this religious movement. Slowly but surely, he was to be recognized as its pir, or spiritual head, not only by those in Kirşehir who took the name Bektashi, but also by a great number of villagers throughout Asia Minor.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, another spiritual leader, Balim Sultan, regarded by the Bektashis as their second pir, had arisen, one who preserved the rituals and organization of the Bektashi order.⁴⁷ In time, two kinds of leaders emerged in the village of Kirşehir, the headquarters of the Bektashis: the Akhi Dedes and the Çelebis. The Çelebis claimed to be the actual descendants of Haji Bektash and the only legitimate heads of the Bektashi order. The office of the Çelebis is supposed to be hereditary, although this practice does not always prevail. The ruling Çelebis resided in a convent at Kirşehir and was recognized by the Kizilbash and the village people of Asia Minor as their spiritual head, empowered to ordain shaykhs to minister to them.⁴⁸

In the same convent with him, however, resided his rival, the Akhi Dede, who disputed his authority. The Akhi Dede, also called the Dede Baba, claimed that Haji Bektash had no children other than his followers. For this reason the Akhi Dedes considered themselves the spiritual successors of Haji Bektash, and ruled in this capacity over the convent of Haji Bektash and over a number of the Bektashis. In light of these facts, we may deduce that the Kizilbash were those members of the village population of Asia Minor who revered Haji Bektash and recognized the authority of the Çelebis residing in the village of Kirşehir.⁴⁹ They were a nomadic, illiterate, common folk who, unlike the Bektashis, had no cohesive fraternal organization and were commonly known as Alawis. But relations between the village groups and those of the towns were not friendly. The Kizilbash and their flock were looked down upon by the Bektashis as an "inferior and somewhat degenerate group of believers."⁵⁰ The Bektashis contemptuously called them "Sufis" and accused them of lacking organization and accepting superstitious doctrines.⁵¹

The two groups did share common beliefs and traditions, however. They had the same religious books and hymns and were alike in venerating Ali and the Imams to the point of apotheosizing them.⁵² It should be pointed out that these Bektashi village groups were the Kizilbash and followers of the Safawis of Persia. As Shiites, they had no strong allegiance to the Sumite Ottoman sultan and government. There is strong evidence that the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512), a contempo-

rary of Shah Ismail the Safawi, was suspicious of the loyalty of the followers of the Safawis in the country. In an undated letter included in the state papers compiled by Feridun Ahmad Bey (d. 1582) in 1574, Shah Ismail wrote to Bayazid, asking him to allow the Safawi followers in Turkey to visit him at Ardabil, the headquarters of the Safawi order. The sultan, who must have been fully aware of Shah Ismail's ambition to extend both his hegemony, and the Shi'ite faith to the heart of the Ottoman homeland, wrote back that the intention of these pilgrims was not to perform a religious duty, but to escape Ottoman military service.⁵³ From this correspondence, we learn that the Safawi adherents in Turkey must have been so numerous that their absence could affect the Ottoman military service. They must also have been dedicated to the Safawis and their Shi'ite cause, for in the last year of the reign of Bayazid II (1512), they revolted against the sultan. This revolt was led by a certain Shah Kul (slave of the shah), whom the Turks contemptuously called Shaytan Kul (slave of Satan).⁵⁴ What is significant about Shah Kul is that he was the son of Hasan Khalifa, a disciple of Shaykh Haydar Ibn Junayd, the Safawi father of Shah Ismail. In fact, the influence of the Safawis on their Kizilbash followers in Turkey was so great that Shah Kul ventured to proclaim himself the representative of Shah Ismail in Turkey.⁵⁵

Perhaps the greatest danger presented by this devastating revolt was to Sunnite Islam, rather than to the Ottoman state. Richard Knolles blames the revolt on the craftiness of Hasan Khalifa and his son, Shah Kul, describing them as hypocritical Persians who pretended holiness to gain great prestige among the Shi'ite followers of the Safawis. Also, by raising the question of whether Ali was the true successor of the Prophet, they were able to challenge the authority of the Ottoman sultan and foment rebellion among the people.⁵⁶

Although short-lived, the rebellion of Shah Kul was devastating. Starting from Tascia, the followers of Shah Kul stormed Adalia, taking it by surprise. Then they advanced to Konya, where they were reinforced by Persian cavalry and foot-soldiers, but they failed to capture the city because they did not have guns to destroy its walls. The army of Shah Kul then marched to the northeast, capturing Kutahya. Turning east, the army engaged in battle with the Ottoman army at Angora, where Shah Kul was killed and his followers were dispersed. Some of them crossed the Halys River and were pursued by the Ottoman army at Tekke. Others escaped to Persia via Sivas and Maraş, capital of the principality of Dhu al-Qadr, whose inhabitants were predominantly Shi'ite followers of the Safawis. Both Turks and Persians suffered heavy losses; in addition, the caravans of rich merchants were plundered.⁵⁷

Although Shah Kul lost his life and his followers were scattered, the growing influence of the Shiite Safawis in Turkey troubled Sultan Selim I, who ascended the throne in 1512. The new sultan hated and despised the Kizilbash followers of Shah Ismail, calling them the Awbash-i Kizilbash (ruffian red heads).⁵⁸ He treated them savagely and attempted to eradicate Shiism in Turkey. An "Inquisition" was begun throughout Turkey by the sultan's grand vizir, Yunus Pasha (executed in 1517), to persecute those who professed Shiism, the religion of the Persians. Many of Shah Kul's followers were put to death after being horribly tortured. As a result, relations between the Ottomans and the Safawis worsened. The final showdown came in a battle at Chaldiran (1514), where Shah Ismail was badly defeated. It is even reported that Sultan Selim I had already killed forty-thousand followers of the Safawis during his march eastward to meet Shah Ismail at Chaldiran.⁵⁹

In the light of these events, it is possible to speculate that the Shabak were those Turkoman Kizilbash who came to northern Iraq in the time of the Safawis, and who fled the persecution inflicted upon them by Sultan Selim I. It should be pointed out that despite the persecution inflicted by the sultan on the Shiite followers of the Safawis, a great number of them remained faithful to Shiism and the Safawi cause. This was especially true of the inhabitants of the provinces of Tekke and Dhu al-Qadr.

Founded in 1378 in the Antitaurus near Maraş and Elbistan, the province of Dhu al-Qadr covered a large territory between the Ottoman Empire and Persia, including at one time Caesarea, the center of Bektashism. Although it was conquered and annexed by Sultan Selim I in 1515, it remained a turbulent center of Shiite propaganda for more than a decade. In 1527, when the son of Selim ascended the throne as Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent, a certain Qalandaroglu (allegedly a descendant of Haji Bektash) roused a great number of dervishes to join him in revolt in the province of Dhu al-Qadr, but they were eventually defeated near Elbistan.⁶⁰ Despite the barbarous treatment of the Shiite, however, Shiism survived in Turkey throughout the sixteenth century.

In 1573, the Venetian agent in Constantinople, Marcantonio Barbaro, wrote that many people in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire professed the same faith as the Persians: that is, Shiism. Barbaro observes that the Turks did not persecute these Shiites because they feared further rebellion. He seems to be correct; even after the defeat of Dhu al-Qadr and the transportation of Shiite rebels from Turkey to the Peloponnesus (Morea) and to Macedonia and Epirus by Sultan Selim I, Shiism was still prevalent in Turkey.⁶¹ It is probable that many other districts of the Ottoman Empire were still inhabited by extremist Shiites, the majority

being Turkoman nomads. It is not unlikely that these Turkoman nomads then made their way into Iraq, where other Turkoman nomads who had served in the Safawi army had already settled, not daring to return to their homeland, Turkey, for fear of persecution by the Ottoman sultan. These Turkomans lived in northern Iraq in a closed society, without being assimilated into the rest of the population.⁶² In their isolation they were able to retain many of their beliefs and rituals, leading a marginal life and avoiding further persecution by Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent, who occupied Iraq in 1538, through the use of *taqiyya* (dissimulation). Though this tactic enabled them to survive for centuries, the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II in 1890 dispatched Lieutenant General Umar Wahbi Pasha to introduce reforms in Iraq and to restore the heretical Muslim groups, including the Shabak and the Yezidis (the so-called devil worshippers), to orthodox Islam, even though doing so required him to destroy the temples of the Shabak and the Yezidis.⁶³

It is thus evident that the Shabak were Alawi Shiites most probably originating as Bektashi or Kizilbash village groups, recognizing the religious authority of the Çelebis in Turkey. This is confirmed by the fact that the informant of Dawud al-Chalabi told him that until about the turn of the twentieth century, the Shabak were Bektashis who contacted the Çelebi of Konya for religious instruction. Moreover, when a Shabak visited the Shiite holy shrines in Karbala, he contacted the representative of the Çelebi of Konya in that city.⁶⁴ These Shabak became Kizilbash followers of the Safawis of Persia, and, like the Bektashis', their faith was characterized by excessive veneration and ultimately deification of Ali and the Twelve Imams. The religious differences between the Shabak and the Kizilbash are so minimal that the Iraqi writer Abbas al-Azzawi states, "It is a mistake to consider the Shabak different from the Kizilbash." The chief reasons al-Azzawi gives are that the order of the Shabak is that of the ancestor of Shah Ismail, Shaykh Safi al-Din (d. 1334), from whom the Safawis derive their name, and that the *Buyruk*, the sacred book of the Kizilbash, is also the sacred book of the Shabak.⁶⁵ Al-Azzawi seems correct, because the non-Shiite Muslims living among the Shabak call them Kizilbash.⁶⁶ As will be seen later, a careful study of the beliefs and religious practices of the Shabak shows that except for some minor details, they are identical with those of the Bektashis and Kizilbash. However, the most important link between them and the Kizilbash is the *Buyruk*.⁶⁷

Although there are many striking resemblances among the beliefs and rituals of the Shabak, the Bektashis, and the Kizilbash, one who attempts to investigate the faith and rituals of these groups today is faced

with many difficulties. One of these is that until very recently, illiteracy among these groups was rife, and it was almost impossible to find anyone among them who could read or write. Even now, most of their religious leaders are illiterate, receiving and transmitting tradition by word of mouth. To complicate matters, they have no religious books or writings except the *Buyruk*, and no catechism or literature to facilitate the study of their religious systems. In addition, these groups guard their beliefs with absolute secrecy and refuse to divulge them to strangers. In fact, every Iraqi writer who has attempted to study their faith and rituals expresses utter frustration at being unable to receive satisfactory information from the so-called learned men of these groups.⁶⁸ Perhaps because of the secrecy with which they protect their religious faith and rituals, the Shabak have become the target of calumny from people outside their group, who accuse them of immoral practices. Such accusations have been observed by almost every writer who has studied the Shabak or such other groups, as the Bektashis, the Alawis, the Ali Ilahis, the Nusayris, and the Mutawila, as well as the Yezidis.

Despite these difficulties, a number of religious rituals and practices among the Shabak appear to justify the belief that they have a strong connection with the Bektashis and Kizilbash, for the Shabak express the same love for the family of the Prophet, that is, Ali; his wife Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet; their two sons, al-Hasan and al-Husayn; and all the Imams. Although they deny that they deify Ali, their prayers and hymns are filled with statements of the apotheosis of Ali. Like the Bektashis and Kizilbash, they have a total disregard for the religious duties that are essential for Muslims to qualify as believers. The Shabak drink wine, which is prohibited by the Quran; they do not pray; and they neither fast during the month of Ramadan nor perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶⁹

Furthermore, like the Bektashis and Kizilbash, they celebrate a ceremonial supper during which they eat cheese, drink wine, and confess their sins privately to the *baba*, or *pir* (religious elder or leader), who, after receiving their confession, offers them absolution of sins. Once each year, they hold a night ceremony for public penance and confession of sins. Moreover, like the Bektashis and Kizilbash, the Shabak have a religious hierarchy in which the *talib* (seeker or neophyte) holds the lowest position and the *baba* or *pir* the highest position. They also follow an elaborate ceremony for initiation into their order.

Obviously some of these rituals have their counterparts in Christian ritual: for example, the ceremonial supper and the private and public confession of sins. These rituals show the eclectic nature of Bektashism,

whose founder probably tried to win to his fold the unsophisticated Christian peasants of Asia Minor, who would naturally have been attracted to people who used and respected Christian rituals.⁷⁰

There is evidence of contact between the Bektashis and Christianity. In Turkey, the Bektashis have taken over a number of Christian churches, saints' tombs, and sanctuaries. These usurped places of worship were made accessible to Christians in order to convince them that the saint worshipped by Muslims was a Muslim secretly converted to Christianity. Obviously, the Bektashis see nothing spiritually wrong with the sharing of a shrine or sanctuary by Muslims and Christians.⁷¹ The magnanimity of this Bektashi tactic can only be appreciated if one realizes that for the illiterate masses of Turkey, whether Muslim or Christian, the worship of saints and the veneration of their relics and tombs has a tremendous effect on the psyche.⁷² In Konya in the thirteenth century, this same tactic was used by the Mawlawi (Mevlevi) dervish order to entice Christians to join. In fact, the Bektashi practice was most effective in the cult of the saints.⁷³

However, it should be pointed out in this context that, although the rituals of the Bektashis and the Shabak may seem different in form, one can detect striking resemblances in content, especially in the *gulbanks* (hymns). As we have seen earlier, this is because Bektashism is by its very nature an eclectic composite of faith and practices. Its literature is a conglomeration, taken from many Sufi orders, among them the Akhi, Abdal, Hurufis, and Kizilbash.⁷⁴ In other words, no uniform and original type of Bektashism or Kizilbashism exists against which we can measure the faith and practices of the Shabak. Nevertheless, there are sufficient resemblances among the rituals of these groups to justify the opinion that they share a common origin.

Of greatest significance is the constant repetition of the numbers three, five, seven, twelve, and forty in their rituals. These numbers symbolize the whole religious system of the Shabak and their belief in Ali and the other Imams, as well as the degrees of their religious hierarchy. Through these numbers, the Shabak offer the Imams praise and adoration and invoke their divine help. That these numbers are likewise fundamental to the beliefs of the Bektashis is manifested in the following verse by the Bektashi poet Yunus Emr :

My shaykh is an exalted person
He is the heart of the Three, the Seven,
and the Forty.

With the Twelve Imams, he is a possessor
of the Divine Mystery.⁷⁵

The Three, the Five, the Seven, and the Forty are also mentioned in the hymn which closes the ceremony of initiation into the Bektashi order.⁷⁶ The same numbers are cited by Bektashis in a prayer of grace before meals, "By the breath of the Three, the Five, the Seven, the Fourteen, and the Forty true Saints, we thank thee."⁷⁷ These numbers, which symbolize the trinity, the members of the family of the Prophet, the twelve Imams, the seven degrees of religious hierarchy, the Fourteen Infallibles, and the Forty Abdal, are continually mentioned by the Alawis of eastern Turkey in performing their rituals.⁷⁸

- 3:335, Taha Husayn, *al-Fitna al-Kubra* (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1953), 131–37; and al-Shaibi, *al-Sila bayn al-Tasawwuf wa al-Tashayyu* (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1969), 40–42.
21. See sources in the previous footnote.
22. Muhammad Jabir Abd al-Al, *Harakat al-Shi'a al-Mutatarrifin* (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1954), 26–90.
23. Al-Shaibi, *al-Sila bayn al-Tasawwuf wa al-Tashayyu*, 121.
24. W. Montgomery Watt, *Islam and the Integration of Society*, 104.
25. Taha Husayn, *Ali wa Banuh* (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1953), 188; and al-Wardi, *Wu'az al-Salatin*, 40.
26. Abd Allah al-Fayyad, *Tarikh al-Imamiyya wa Aslafihim min al-Shi'a* (Beirut: Muassasat al-Alami li al-Matbuat, 1975), 89.
27. Abu Jafar Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi, *al-Ghayba* (al-Najaf: Matbaat al-Numan, 1385/1965), 241–42.
28. Ibn Babawayh, *Ilal al-Shara'i*, 1: 227; and al-Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitab Sharh Aqa'id al-Saduq aw Tashih al-I'tiqad*, printed together with his *Awa'il al-Maqalat fi al-Madhahib wa al-Mukhtarat* (Tabriz: Matbaat Ridai, 1371/1951), 257.

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1. Rev. Anastase Marie al-Karmali, "Tafkihat al-Adhhan fi Ta'rif Thalathat Adyan," *al-Mashriq* 5 (1902): 576–82. The same article is reproduced in Ahmad Hamid al-Sarraf, *al-Shabak* (Baghdad: Matbaat al-Maarif, 1954), 218–25.
2. Al-Karmali, *ibid.*, 582, and *idem*, "al-Yazidiyya," *al-Mashriq* 2 (1899): 395.
3. Al-Karmali, "Tafkihat al-Adhhan," 578.
4. Vladimir Minorsky, "Shabak," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1934): 238–39. See also Amal Vinogradov (Rassam), "Ethnicity, Cultural Discontinuity and Power Brokers in Northern Iraq: The Case of the Shabak," *American Ethnologist* (June 4, 1973): 207–18; and Saad Ibrahim al-Adami, *al-Aqaliyyat al-Diniyya wa al-Qawmiyya wa Ta'thiruha ala al-Waqi al-Siyasi wa al-Ijtima'i fi Muhafazat Ninawa* (n.p., 1982), 95–117.
5. Amkah (pseudonym used by al-Karmali), "al-Shabak," *al-Muqtataf* 54 (1921): 230–32.
6. Kamil Mustafa al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya wa Rawasibuha fi al-Iraq al-Mu'asir* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Nahda, 1967), 54 n. 191.
7. Dawud al-Chalabi in al-Sarraf, *al-Shabak*, 8–11.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Abbas al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh* (Baghdad: Sharikat al-Tibaa wa al-Tijara al-Mahduda, 1949), 95–99.
10. Abd al-Munim al-Ghulami, *Baqaya al-Firq al-Batiniyya fi Liwa al-Mawsil* (Mosul: Matbaat al-Ittihad al-Jadida, 1950), 2 of introduction; 23; 45–48. Al-Ghulami's monograph was originally published as a series of articles in *al-Majalla* (1939) nos. 21–23 dated August 1, and August 16, and September 1 respectively. Cf. al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 96–8.
11. A. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London: John Murray, 1867), 216; Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1924), 270, who quotes Layard in full. Cf. Saad Ibrahim al-Adami, *al-Aqaliyyat*, 98–101.
12. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, 270.

13. Al-Sarraf, *al-Shabak*, Introduction, 2.
14. Ibid., 3–4 and 6–7 of Introduction.
15. For the Turkish and Arabic versions of the *Buyruk*, see al-Sarraf, 146–217.
16. Al-Sarraf, *al-Shabak*, 1, 11, and 89.
17. Ibid., 90. Cf. Al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 95.
18. Al-Azzawi, Ibid., 12–13, 90–91. On the Ak Koyunlu clan, see John E. Woods, *The AQ Qoyunlu Clan Confederates Empire* (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976).
19. Al-Sarraf, 12–13, 90–91.
20. Ibid., 13, 91.
21. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya wa Rawasibuha fi al-Iraq al-Mu'asir*, 45–46, and idem, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i wa al-Naza'at al-Sufiyya hatta Matla al-Qarn al-Thani Ashar al-Hijri* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Nahda, 1966), 405–6. Al-Shaibi's authority here is Samuel Purchas *His Pilgrimage* 4th ed. (London: printed by W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone, 1626), Book 4:382. The original source here is not Purchas but Ioao de Barros, *Daastade Ioao De Barros Dos Feitos Que Ospar, Decada Secunda* (Em Lisboa: Impressa per Iorge Rodriguez, 1628), Book 10:231–33. See also Clement Hurat, "Kizil-Bash," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2 Leiden: G. J. Brill, (1927): 1053, and narrative of a journey in Persia by an anonymous Venetian merchant in Charles Grey, trans., *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 206; Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times 1500–1924*, (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1959, 4: 47–48; and Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1929), 1:139–59.
22. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 45–46; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 405–6.
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24. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 46–47.
25. Al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 91. On Haji Bayram, see Evliya Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, tr. Ritter Joseph von Hammer, (London: Oriental Translation Fund Publication, 1846–50), 2:231–34; E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, (London: Luzac, 1901), 1:299; and John P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, ed. H. A. Rose (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 61–62 n. 2, 269, and 459, Appendix 3.
26. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 373–85; and idem, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 45–46. On the Babaiyya, see C1. Cahen, "Baba'i" *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1 (Leiden and London: E. J. Brill, 1960):843–44. According to the anonymous *History of Shah Isma'il* contained in Cambridge University Turkish MS Add. 200, fol. 27, on his march from his place of seclusion at Lahijan to Ardabil, Shah Ismail was joined by many devoted disciples and supporters from Syria and Asia Minor. Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4:51.
27. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 48–49 and Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600*, tr. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger, 1973), 33. Inalcik states that thousands of Turkomans migrated to Iran and Azerbaijan and became the core of the Safawi army. For the wars of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I against the Safawis, including his massacre of thousands of Kizilbash on his march eastward and his victory over Shah Ismail at Chaldiran, see Joao De Barros, 231–33 and J. R. Walsh, "Chaldiran," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden and London: E. J. Brill, 1965):2:7–8.
28. Al-Sarraf, *al-Shabak*, 13, 91 139.
29. Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safawi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), 19.

30. Lockhart, 19; and John E. Woods, *The AQ Quyunlu Clan Confederates Empire*, 173–74.
31. Al-Sarraf, 13, 91; and al-Shaibi, *Al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 48–49.
32. Lockhart, 19.
33. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 48–49. For an account of the strained relations between the Ottoman sultans and Shah Ismail that led to the battle of Chaldiran, see De Barros, 57–77.
34. Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, tr. J. Jones Williams (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968), 64–72; and Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 1:158.

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5. Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (Istanbul: Matbaa-Yi Amire, 1332/1913), 206. Some Bektashis maintain that Haji Bektash appeared in the time of the Ottoman Sultan Orhan. See Ahmad Sirri Dede Baba, *al-Risala al-Ahmadiyya fi al-Tariqa al-Bektashiyya* (Cairo: Matbaat Abduh wa Anwar Ahmad, 1959), 7.
6. See Oruc Ibn Adil, *Tarih-i Al-i Osman*, ed. by Franz Babinger, *Die Frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch* (Hanover: H. Lafaire, 1925), 15, 22, 89, 93 and Birge, *Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, 46–47.
7. M. Fuad Köprülü, “Anadoluda Islamiyet,” *Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* no. 1 (Istanbul, 1338/1919), 297–98; W. Ivanow, *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), 57–58, and 60 n. 1 (In this note, Ivanow relates his effort to find a clue to the origin of the term *Qalandar*). Cf. John P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism* (London: Luzac & Co., 1937), 169–72 n. 1.
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9. Wittek "Rise of the Ottoman Empire," 18–21; and W. Barthold, *Tarikh al-Turk fi Asiya al-Wusta*, trans. Ahmad al-Said Sulayman (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-Misriyya, 1958), 108–9.

10. Wittek, "Rise of the Ottoman Empire," and idem, "Zur Geschichte Angoras im Mittelalter," in *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1932), 339. There is also some evidence that the Danishmends' coins bore Christian representations, such as, the head and shoulders of Jesus Christ. See Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 169.

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12. Wittek, *ibid.*, 24–25; and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 247. Some scholars believe that the term *Turkoman* has a religious connotation. When the Turks were converted to Islam their chief, Salur, called them "Turk-iman," (Turks of faith), to distinguish them from the rest, who remained heathens. See Sadik Shahid Bey, *Islam, Turkey and Armenia and How They Happened* (St. Louis: G. B. Woodward Co., 1898), 101–2.

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17. Grousset, *Empire of the Steppes*, 144–45; and Barthold, *Tarikh al-Turk*, 71–77.

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19. Al-Masudi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4:294–296. See also Abu al-Fath Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastani, *Kitab al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, printed on the margin of Ibn Hazm *Kitab al-Fisal* (Cairo: Muassasat al-Khanji, 1321/1903), 1:211; Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, *Tarikh al-Khulafa* (Cairo: 1952; reprinted Matbaat Munir, Baghdad: 1983), 381; Anastase Marie al-Karmali, *Khulasat Tarikh Baghdad* (Basra: Matbaat al-Hukuma, 1919), 110; W. Madelung, "The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 4:208; S. M. Stern, "The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1960): 76; idem, *Studies in Early Isma'ilism* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1983), 216; and Vámbéry, *History of Bokhara*, 74.

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33. Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Tabari, *Kamil-i Baha'i* (Bombay: 1323/1905), 7; and Ivanow, *Truth-Worshippers*, 15.

34. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 29.

35. Franz Babinger, "Der Islam in Kleinasien, Neue Wege der Islamforschung," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922):128.

36. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:158; Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutesavvıflar* (First mystics in Turkish literature) (Istanbul: Matbaa-Yi Amire, 1918), 232-34; and Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 259-60.

37. Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-Ibri), *The Chronography of Gregory Abu' L-Faraj Known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1:405; and idem; *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 2nd ed., ed. Anton Salhani (Beirut: al-Matbaa al-Katholikiyya, 1958), 251.

38. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 28-33; and Abu al-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Sinan al-Dimashqi al-Qaramani, *Akhbar al-Duwal wa Athar al-Uwal* (lithographed Baghdad: 1282/1865), 293.

39. Nasir al-Din al-Husayn Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Jafari al-Raghdhi (known as Ibn Bibi), *al-Awamir al-Ala'iyya fi al-Umur al-Ala'iyya*, ed. Adnan Sadiq Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1956), 498-510.

40. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 136.

41. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:405.

42. Ibn Bibi, *al-Awamir al-Ala'iyya*, 502; al-Aflaki, *Manaqib al-Arifin*, 1:381; Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında*, 233; and al-Baghdadi (Sibt ibn al-Jawzi), *Mir'at al-Zaman* (Haydarabad, Matbaat Dairat al-Maarif al-Uthmaniyya, 1950), 773.

43. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:405.

44. Claude Cahen, "Baba'i" In *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (1960), 843-44; Idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 136-37; al-Aflaki, *Manaqib al-Arifin*, 1:381; al-Qaramani, *Akhbar al-Duwal*, 293; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:406, and Idem, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 251.

45. Imad al-Din Abu al-Fida Ismail al-Qurashi al-Dimashqi (known as Ibn Kathir), *al-Bidaye wa al-Nihaya* (Cairo: Matbaat al-Saada, 1351-58/1932-39), 13:198.
46. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 375.
47. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 40-41.
48. *Ibid.*, 32-33.
49. Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1910, reprinted 1963), 167; Georg Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens der Bektaschis*, (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908), Introduction, passim; and Jacob, "Die Bektaschijie in ihrem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen," *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, sect. 3 (München: 1909), 42-44.
50. Al-Hajj Masum Ali (al-Nimat Ilahi al-Shirazi), *Tara'iq al-Haqa'iq* (Tehran: 1319/1901), 155-56; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 378 n. 42; and Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 36.
51. For *Maqalat Haji Bektash*, see E. G. Browne Papers, Turkish MS. 20, fol. 48b, Cambridge University; and R. Tschudi, "Bektashiyya," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden and London: J. Brill, 1960), 1161-62. Cf. Rüştü Şardağ, *Her Yönü ile Hacı Bektas-i Veli* (Izmir: Karınca Matbaacilik, 1985), 124-81.
52. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:60 and 2:565-66.
53. Browne, "Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907): 533-38; and Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 60-62.
54. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 50-51.
55. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, trans. J. J. Hellert (Paris: Bellizard, Barthes, Dufour et Lowell, 1835-43), 4:91.
56. See *Maqalat Haji Bektash* in E. G. Browne Papers, Turkish Ms. 20, fol. 1a-2a, Cambridge University.
57. Brown, *The Darvishes*, 162-64; and Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 51-53 and 74-78.
58. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 56-58.
59. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 381.
60. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 56, 58-62, 73; Browne, "Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurufi Sect," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January 1898), 61-94; Clement Hurat, *Textes Houroufis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1909); 226, 228, 238; Brown, *The Darvishes*, 223; and Appendix to chapter 7 by H. A. Rose; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 211-44.

3—The Safawis and Kizilbash

1. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 3a, Cambridge University. See also Ismail Tawakkuli known as Ibn Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa* (Bombay: 1329/1911), 3; Cf. Shaykh Husayn Ibn Shaykh Abdal-i Zahidi, *Silsilat al-Nasab Safawiyya*, E. G. Browne Papers, MS. H. 12, fol. 5b, Cambridge. Edward G. Browne published a summary of this work in English, entitled, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1921): 395-418; Michel Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Shi'ism, Sufism and the Gulat* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 41-82; and I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, trans. Hubert Evans (Albany, New York: State University of New York at Albany Press, 1985), 303-26.
2. Zahidi, *Silsilat al-Nasab Safawiyya*, E. G. Browne Papers, MS. H 12, fols. 5b and

6a, Cambridge: Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia," 396, 398; Idem, *A Literary History of Persia 1500-1924* (Cambridge, 1959), 4:36; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 39, 391.

3. Ibn Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 12; Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fols. 6a; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 391; Browne, "Manuscript History of The Safawi Dynasty," 398.

4. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 14b, Cambridge University. For the Georgians' invasion of Azerbaijan, see Ibn al-Ibri (Bar Hebraeus), *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 228-29.

5. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 14b.

6. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 12, 21; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 392. E. G. Browne, following Zahidi, refers to Amin al-Din Jabrail as the son of Qutb al-Din. See Browne, *Literary History*, 4:37. Cf. Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 398.

7. Bazzaz, in his *Safwat al-Safa*, 13 errs in referring to this spiritual leader as Kamal al-Din Masud Ibn Abd Allah al-Khajandi; the latter most probably died in the last decade of the fourteenth century, while Amin al-Din Jabrail lived and died in the thirteenth century. Cf. Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, 8b; Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 339; idem, *Literary History*, 4:37.

8. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 5a.

9. Brown, *Literary History*, 4:37. See also Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 12; Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 8a; Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 399; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 393.

10. Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 9a. See also al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 393.

11. There is certainly a discrepancy between the dates of Safi al-Din's arrival in Shiraz and of the death of Shaykh Najib al-Din Buzghush. See Browne, *Literary History*, 4:42 n. 1; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 393.

12. *The History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 7a; Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 15; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 394.

13. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:43, and Idem, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 403.

14. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 89-90, 335-58; and Browne, *ibid.*, 403.

15. Hamd Allah Ibn Bakr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nasr Mustawfi, *Tarih-i Guzida*, ed. Abd al-Husayn Hawai (Tehran: n.p., 1336-39/1357-60), 675; and Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 46.

16. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 95, 105, 242-43; and Khwand Amir, *Habib al-Siyar fi Akhbar Afrad al-Bashar* (Tehran: Intisharat Kitabkhane Khayyam, 1315/1897), 3:220 and 4:421.

17. See Letter 45, from Rashid al-Din to Shaykh Safi, in Browne, *Literary History*, 3:85.

18. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 105.

19. *Ibid.*, 11. This genealogy is also given in Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 5b; and Browne, *Literary History*, 4:32-33 n. 1. Cf. Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Isma'il Safawi* (1939; reprinted, New York: A.M.S. Press, 1975), 17-29, which contains the genealogy of Shah Ismail back to the Imam Musa al-Kazim as well as a brief history of the ancestors of Shah Ismail. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London: printed by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1617), 430, calls Shaykh Safi al-Din a "Nobleman called Sophi, Lord of the City of Ardabil reporting himself to be of the blood of Ali Descended from Musa 'Cazin' al-Kazim."

20. See *Mana'iq al-Awliya' aw Buyruk*, Turkoman MS. 14706/1, Iraqi Museum. This Manuscript consists of a school notebook of 111 pages. It is written in Arabic script but the

language is Turkoman, or old Turkish, interspersed with Persian and Arabic words and phrases. At the end of the manuscript is a colophone written in a different hand. This addition may be by a man from the town of Tallafar north of Mosul, Iraq. It states that the book was completed by the grace of God, and that it is the book in which the Sufis of Tallafar believe. Then follows the date December 28, 1953, indicating the completion of the transcription of the manuscript. An insignia on the front page shows that it was in the possession of an Iraqi Shiite attorney-at-law, Sadiq Kammuna, who donated it to the library of the Iraqi Museum in 1975.

21. Ahmad Kasrawi, "Nijad va Tabari-i Safaviyah," *Ayandah* 11 (1926-28), nos. 5 and 7, 357ff., 389ff., and 801. For a detailed account, see Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Shi'ism, Sufism, and The Gulat* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 47-48. Cf. I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, trans. Hubert Evans (Albany, New York: State University of New York at Albany, 1985), 314-15.

22. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 395 n. 39.

23. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 11-12; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 395.

24. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 395, 397, 398.

25. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 95, 105, 242-43; Browne, *Literary History*, 4:43-44; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 396; and Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 47-51.

26. Fadl Allah Ibn Ruzbihan Khunji, *Tarikh-i alam ara-yi Amini* abridged and translated as *Persia in A.D. 1470-1490*, trans. V. Minorovsky (London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 1957), 62.

27. Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 403.

28. Ibid.

29. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 4.

30. Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fols. 26-28; Amir, *Habib al-Siyar*, 4:521-23; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 398.

31. Bazzaz, *Safwat al-Safa*, 97, 101-2.

32. Nur Allah al-Tustari, *Majalis al-Mu'minin* (Tehran: Sayyid Hasan Tehrani, 1299/1881), 273.

33. Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 407 and idem, *Literary History*, 4:46. Cf. Sir John Malcolm, *The History of Persia from the Most Early Period to the Present Time*. (London: John Murray, 1815), 1:321.

34. Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fols. 32a-44b; and Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 407.

35. Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 407 n. 1.

36. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 10b.

37. Ioao De Barros, *Daasiade Ioao De Barros Dos Feitos Que Ospar*, Decada Secunda, (Lisboa: Imprensa par Jorge Rodriguez, 1628), Book 10, chapter 4, fol. 230.

38. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London: printed by W. Stanby for H. Fetherstone, 1617), Book 4, chapter 8, 431 and the 1626 edition of the same, 382.

39. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fols. 10-11b; Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12 fol. 41b; Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 408-9; De Barros, *Daasiade*, fol. 230, states that Timur's release of these captives of war took place in the time of Iunc (Junayd). Browne, in his *Literary History*, 4:46, states that Shaykh Sadr al-Din was the one who interceded with Timur to free the Turkish Prisoners. Cf. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 321.

40. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 11a; and Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 32b.

41. De Barros, *Daasiade*, fol. 230.

42. Ibid. Cf. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 431.
43. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 431.
44. Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Sakhawi, *al-Daww al-Lami li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tasi* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Quds, 1353-55/1934-36), 4:29-30.
45. Isam al-Din Ahmad Ibn Mustafa Taşköprüzade, *al-Shaqa'iq al-Nu'maniyya fi Ulama al-Dawla al-Uthmaniyya*, printed on the margin of Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayyat al-A'yan* (Cairo: al-Taba al-Maymaniyya, 1310/1892), 1:155.
46. Muhammad Raghīb al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala bi Tarikh Halab al-Shahba* (Halab: al-Matabaa al-Ilmiyya, 1923-26), 3:56; Zahidi, *Silsilat* MS. H 12, fols. 36a and 45a; *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 11a; Amir, *Habib al-Siyar*, 4:424; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 402.
47. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:46; Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 46b; idem, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 411; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 403, 406 R. M. Savory, "Djunayd," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2 (Leiden and London, E. J. Brill, 1965):598; Idem, "The Development of the Early Safawid State under Isma'il and Tahmasp", (Ph.D. Diss., University of London, 1958), 54-55.
48. Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala*, 5:337.
49. Khunji, *Persia in A. D. 1478-1490*, 66; Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 72. Cf. al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala*, 5:337.
50. Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 72.
51. Abbas al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq bayn Ihtilalayn* (The history of Iraq between two occupations) (Baghdad: Sharikat al-Tijara wa al-Tibaa, 1935), 3:110-11. On Muhammad Ibn Fallah (known as al-Mushasha), see Abd Allah Ibn Fath Allah al-Baghdadi, *al-Tarikh al-Ghiyathi*, ed. Tariq Nafi al-Hamdani (Baghdad: Matbaat Asad, 1975), 273-76; and Jasim Hasan Shubbar, *Tarikh al-Musha'sha'iyyin wa Tarajim A'lamihim* (al-Najaf: Matbaat al-Adab, 1965), 22-23.
52. Mustafa Abd al-Qadir al-Najjar, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li Imarat Arabistan al-Arabiyya 1897-1925* (The political history of the Arab principality of Arabistan), (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1971), 227-49; and Matti Moosa "Ahwaz: An Arab Territory," in *The Future of the Arab Gulf and the Strategy of Joint Arab Action*, (Kuwait: Fourth International Symposium of the Center for Arab Gulf Studies, 3:1982), 12-49.
53. Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala*, 3:56; and al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq*, 2:332 and 5:336-37.
54. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 11b.
55. Ibid., 15a and Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 46b.
56. Khunji, *Persia in A. D. 1478-1490*, 66; Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, 315.
57. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 11b.
58. Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala*, 2:56 and 5:337; al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq* 3:332 and 5:326-27.
59. Khunji, *Persia in A. D. 1478-1490*, 64-65. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:47, sets the date of Junayd's death at 1456. In fact, Junayd was killed in 1460. See Savory, "Djunayd" 2:598. Cf. Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 75.
60. Al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 404; and Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 72-73.
61. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:64.
62. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:55, following *Ahsan al-Tawarikh*, lists twelve of these potentates who dominated Persia.
63. Al-Tabbakh, *I'lam al-Nubala*, 5:337; Khunji, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 66; and Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 73.
64. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 13a.

65. Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 47b; Browne, "Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty," 411; idem, *Literary History*, 4:47; "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia," in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, trans. Charles Grey (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 178-79; Khunji, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 65-82; al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 406; Savory, "Haydar," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden and London: 1971), 3:315; and E. D. Ross, "The Early years of Shah Isma'il, Founder of the Safawi Dynasty," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (April, 1896), 253.
66. Al-Sakhawi, *al-Daww al-Lami*, 9:283; al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq*, 3:276 and 361; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 407.
67. Letter from Yaqub of the AK Koyunlu dynasty to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, in Browne, *Literary History*, 4:67.
68. "Travels of a Merchant in Persia," 185.
69. "Travels of a Merchant in Persia," 186; Browne, *Literary History*, 4:48; Zahidi, *Silsilat*, MS. H 12, fol. 48a; idem, "Manuscript of the Safawi Dynasty," 412; al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq*, 3:270; Savory, "Haydar," 3:316; and al-Shaibi, *al-Fikr al-Shi'i*, 407 n. 134. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic People*, trans. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York: Capricorn, 1960), 320.
70. Khunji, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 64; and Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 73-76.
71. On the role of the Ghazis in the establishment of the Ottoman state, see Wittek, "Rise of the Ottoman Empire," 16-51; and Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safawids*, 76-77.
72. Stephen Van Renesselaer Trowbridge, "The Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali," *Harvard Theological Review* (1909), 340. Cf. Hasan Rashid Tankut, *al-Nusayriyyun wa al-Nusayriyya* (Ankara: Devlet Matbaasi, 1938), 61.
73. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 13b; Ross, "Early Years of Shah Isma'il," 254-55; Browne, *Literary History*, 4:48; Theodor Nöldeke, "Haidar," in *the Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden and London: 1927), 2:218-19; and Clement Huart, "Kizil-Bash," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2 (Leiden and London: 1927):1053-54.
74. Ross, "Early Years of Shah Isma'il," 255.
75. A. Houtum-Schindler, "Shah Isma'il" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1897): 114-15.
76. Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, *Historia della Guerra fra Turchi et Persiana* di Giovanni Thomaso Minadoi da Rouige divisa in libri noue (Venetia: Appresso Andraea Muschio & Barezzo Barezze, 1594), 45. For an English translation of this book, see Abraham Hartwell, trans., *The History of the Warres Between the Turkes and the Persians* (London: John Wolfe, 1595), 47. See also Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 431.
77. Minadoi, *Historia della Guerra*, 45; Hartwell, *History of the Warres*, 46.
78. Minadoi, *Historia della Guerra*, 48.
79. Houtum-Schindler, "Shah Isma'il," 114-15.
80. "Travels of a Merchant in Persia," 206.
81. *History of Shah Isma'il*, MS. Add. 200, fol. 13b.
82. "Travels of a Merchant in Persia," 194-95.

4—The Bektashis, the Kizilbash, and the Shabak

1. F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam*, 1:140.
2. Ibid., 1:140-41; M. F. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse D'Asie Mineure: Les Kyzyl-Bachs," *Journal Asiatic*, 10th ser., 3 (1904): 511, and 521-22; and Muhammad Ghalib al-Tawil, *Tarikh al-Alawiyyin*, 4th ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Andalus, 1981), 535.

3. See Richardson, report dated 14 July 1856, *Missionary Herald* 52 no. 10 (October 1856): 298.
4. *Ibid.*, 298; and Dunmore, report dated 24 October 1854, *Missionary Herald* 51 (2 February 1855): 55–56.
5. Wilson, Major-General Sir Charles, *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia Persia, etc.*, (London: John Murray, 1895), 62–63.
6. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:140–41; Grenard, “Une Secte Religieuse,” 520–21; and Ivanow, *Truth Worshipers*, 48–57.
7. Felix von Luschan, “The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 41 (1911): 230–31; and F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:142.
8. J. G. Taylor “Journal of a Tour in Armenia, Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia, with Notes of Researches in the Deyrsim Dagħ in 1866,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1868): 312.
9. J. W. Crowfoot, Survivals Among the Kappadokian Kizilbash (Bektash),” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 30 (1900): 305.
10. Grenard, “Une Secte Religieuse,” 512.
11. Von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 4:91.
12. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:142, 158; Abbas al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 88; Minorsky, *Notes sur le Secte des Ahlê-Haqq*, 40; G. E. White, “Some Non-Conforming Turks,” *The Moslem World* 8, no. 3 (July 1918): 242–48; *idem*, “The Alevi Turks of Asia Minor,” *The Contemporary Review Advertiser* 104 (November 1913): 690–98; Trowbridge, “The Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali,” 340; Lammens, *Islam Beliefs and Institutions*, 177; and Mehmet Eröz, *Türkiye'de Alevilik-Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: N.P., 1977), 52, 80–81.
13. Grenard, “Une Secte Religieuse,” 511.
14. Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia* (London: Tilt & Bogue, 1840), 2:297; and *idem*, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian (Jacobite) Church* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1844), 75.
15. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:159.
16. Grenard, “Une Secte Religieuse,” 514–21.
17. See for example White, “Alevi Turks,” 696–98; L. Molyneux-Seel, “A Journey in Dersim,” *Geographical Journal* 44 (1914): 64–66; and Trowbridge, “The Alevis or Deifiers of Ali,” 253.
18. See Dunmore, report dated 22 January 1857, *Missionary Herald* 53, no. 7 (July 1857): 220. For the Kizilbash hatred of the Sunnite Turks, See Rev. Henry Fanshawe Tozer, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1881), 259–60.
19. See Ball, report dated 8 August 1857, *Missionary Herald* 53, no. 12 (December 1857): 394–95.
20. Ellsworth Huntington, “Through the Great Canon of the Euphrates River,” *The Geographical Journal* 20, no. 2 (August 1901): 186–87.
21. Nur Yalman, “Islamic Reform and the Mystic Tradition in Eastern Turkey,” *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 10 (1969): 52.
22. Dunmore, report dated 24 October 1854, 56; *idem*, report dated 22 January 1857, 220; Ball, report dated 8 August 1857, 394–95; and G. E. White, “The Shia Turks,” *Faith and Thought, Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 43 (1908): 288, 230. Cf. Charles Wilson, *Handbook for Travellers*, 68; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:165; Grenard, “Une Secte Religieuse,” 512; Trowbridge, the “Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali,” 351; Ellsworth Huntington, “Through The Great Canon,” 187–88; and Yalman, “Islamic Reform,” 51–52.
23. Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of A Tour*, 1:232.

24. Sir William Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey During Twelve Years' Wanderings* (New York: Putnam's Son, 1897), 268.
25. Yalman, "Islamic Reform," 49–50, 55.
26. Eröz, *Türkiye' de Alevilik-Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: p.p., 1977), 15–16, 114–15.
27. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse," 513.
28. Dunmore, report dated 24 October 1954, 55. This chief is probably Ali Gako, mentioned in J. G. Taylor, "Journal of a Tour," 317–18.
29. See Jewett, report dated 16 December 1857, *Missionary Herald* 54, no. 4 (April 1858): 109. Cf. the reports of other missionaries, including Richardson, report dated 14 July 1856, 296; and Winchester, report dated 28 November 1860, *Missionary Herald* 57 (March 1861): 71.
30. Winchester, report dated 28 November 1860, 72.
31. See Herrick, report dated 16 November 1865, *Missionary Herald* 62, no. 3 (March 1866): 68–69.
32. See Livingstone, letter dated 30 March 1869, *Missionary Herald* 65 (7 July 1869): 224.
33. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse," 515.
34. See Georg Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*, 9:73; and Georg Jacob, "Die Bektaschi-je," 33.
35. Jafar Ibn Mansur al-Yaman, *Kitab al-Kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 8–9; and Henry Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1981), 186, where this quotation is produced in full.
36. Dunmore, report dated 22 January 1857, 220.
37. See Parson, report dated 17 September 1857, *Missionary Herald* 54 (18 January 1858): 24.
38. White, "The Shia Turks," 230.
39. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse," 515.
40. Trowbridge, "The Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali," 341.
41. Molyneux-Seel, "Journey in Dersim," 65. Cf. Trowbridge, "The Alevis, or Deifiers of Ali," 341 and 344–46.
42. This portion of Virani's poem is quoted by Georg Jacob, in his "Die Bektaschi-je," 39. Cf. Ibn Babawayh, *Ma'ani al-Akhbar* (Tehran: Matbaat al-Haydari, 1379/1959), 55, where Ibn Babawayh states that the Name of Ali derives from Ali al-A'la (The Most High).
43. See Nutting, report dated 30 July 1860; *Missionary Herald* 56 (November 1860), 345.
44. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:162–63.
45. T. Gilbert, "Notes sur les Sectes dans le Kurdistan," *Journal Asiatique* 7th ser., 11 (July 1873): 393–94; G. R. Driver, "The Religion of the Kurds," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 11 (1921–23): 198; and Sir Richard Carnac Temple, "A Commentary," appended to R. H. Empson, *The Cult of the Peacock Angel* (London: H.F.&G. Witherby, 1928), 173.
46. White "Alevi Turks," 693; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:161–64; and Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 58, 64 n. 4.
47. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 58, 64 n. 4; and J. Spencer Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 82–83.
48. White, "Alevi Turks," 694; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:162–63, 2:502–3; and Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 57–58. For the definition of the term *Chalabi*, see Brown, *The Darvishes*, appendix C of chapter 7: 216–18, by H. A. Rose.
49. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 57–58.

50. Eröz, *Türkiye' de Alevilik-Bektasilik*, 52, 64 n. 4.
51. F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:162.
52. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse, 514.
53. Feridun Bey quoted in Browne, *Literary History*, (Cambridge, 1959), 4: 67-68.
54. F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:169-72; Browne, *Literary History*, 4:70-72; Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 66; and Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 1:78.
55. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:72-74.
56. Richard Knolles, *The Turkish History: from the origin of that nation, to the growth of the Ottoman Empire with the lives and conquests of their princes and emperors*, 6th ed. with continuation by Sir Paul Ricaut (London: printed by Charles Browne, 1687-1700), 1:315; and Browne, *Literary History*, 4:70.
57. Knolles, *Turkish History*, 1:316-24; Von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 90-95.
58. Browne, *Literary History*, 4:67-69; and al-Tawil, *Tarikh al-Alawiyyin*, 403.
59. Edward W. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (Beirut: Khayat, 1961), 131-32; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1:67-68.
60. Von Hammer Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 3:255, 5:95; F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:163-74.
61. See Eugenio Albèri ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 3rd ser., (Firenze: Societa Editrice Fiorentina, 1839), 1:338; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, (Gotha: F A. Perthes, 1855), 567; F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:174; and Knolles, *Turkish History*, 1:324.
62. Al-Shaibi, *al-Tariqa al-Safawiyya*, 46-49.
63. Al-Ghulami, *Baqaya al-Firaq*, 50, 54-55.
64. See Dawud al-Chalabi's letter in al-Sarrafi, *al-Shabak*, 8.
65. Al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 95.
66. Charles Wilson, *Handbook for Travellers*, 68.
67. Al-Sarrafi, *al-Shabak*, 45-48, and 103-4.
68. Ibid., Introduction 3-7; al-Azzawi, *al-Kaka'iyya fi al-Tarikh*, 44-46, 51; and al-Ghulami, *Baqaya al-Firaq*, 44.
69. Al-Sarrafi, *al-Shabak*, 45-48, 103-4.
70. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 210-11.
71. F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 2:570.
72. On this point, see G. E. White, "Saint Worship in Turkey," *The Moslem World* 9 (1919): 8-18.
73. F W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 2:569.
74. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 210-11.
75. Ibid., 73.
76. Ibid., 198.
77. Brown, *The Darvishes*, 202.
78. Yalman, "Islamic Reform," 52.

5—The Ghulat's "Trinity"

1. Al-Sarrafi, *al-Shabak*, 57, 100, 104, 112, 114, 118. For evidence of the deification of Ali by the Bektashis, see Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 132-40, 54. On the Bektashi "Trinity," see Birge, *Bektashi Order*, 132-34.

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